

# MOZAMBIQUE

## REVOLUTION



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## the truth that portugal cannot conceal

One of the major weapons which remains to a decadent and declining imperialism is the technique of the 'big lie'. Exaggerated claims and misleading rhetoric, designed to spread confusion among the subject peoples and their overseas supporters on the one hand and to consolidate the support of imperialist allies behind the colonial power on the other, has been a consistent feature of America's faltering aggression in Vietnam. The Portuguese government, at bay in Africa, under growing pressure from its own population at home and increasingly subject to the nervous scrutiny of its powerful friends, has fallen back upon the same tactic. Aided by the imperialist news media, which alone make such systematic falsification possible, they have so far had some success in this sphere.

Yet we can see how those constantly reiterated American claims of 'imminent victory' in Vietnam began in time to yield diminishing returns, and even to undermine the thrust of American policy. And in a similar manner the very accumulation of lies by the Portuguese begins to unmask their tricks and discredit their claims once and for all.

Of course, FRELIMO has long been aware of the Portuguese penchant for inventing fabulous victories over our forces. And this habit continues. Most recently, in their April communique for example, the Portuguese armed forces in Mozambique announced that they had killed 130 FRELIMO guerrillas, destroyed 45 bases, captured 104 weapons and so on. We know these claims to be totally false. But to convince a skeptical outside world, or even the more credulous of our countrymen in areas far from the front, is another matter. It remains merely our word against that of the Portuguese.

This is precisely why the history of the 'great offensive' of 1970 is of such great importance. For here the contradictions and revealing inconsistencies are to be found not between our statements and theirs, but at the very heart of their own accounts of the struggle. In this way their sleight-of-hand is self-revealed and exposed for all to see.

To fully appreciate this one need only examine their Mozambique war communiques which purport to summarise events of the period from March, 1970 to March, 1971. In these documents they claim the following results: 863 FRELIMO guerrillas killed; 1804 captured; 6881 surrendered (many of whom were high officials of FRELIMO, cf. Portuguese communique 25.1.71); 309 FRELIMO bases and camps destroyed or occupied; more than 60 tons of war equipment captured or destroyed. Moreover, in September of last year the Portuguese Commander in charge of Mozambique operations had already declared that his 'great offensive Gordian Knot' against FRELIMO was in its 'fifth and final phase', this being 'the final blow against the few guerrilla bands, already disorganised and in complete disarray, who still remained'.

Yet, as 1971 begins, we find the same commander announcing, unaccountably, the '1971 great offensive against FRELIMO forces'. One wonders — if the Portuguese had destroyed or occupied our bases (354!), destroyed or captured our weapons (60T!), and inflicted losses upon FRELIMO of 10,000 guerrillas (most of whom were 'high officials'), if they had, in fact, already delivered their 'final blow' — against whom was this fresh offensive launched?



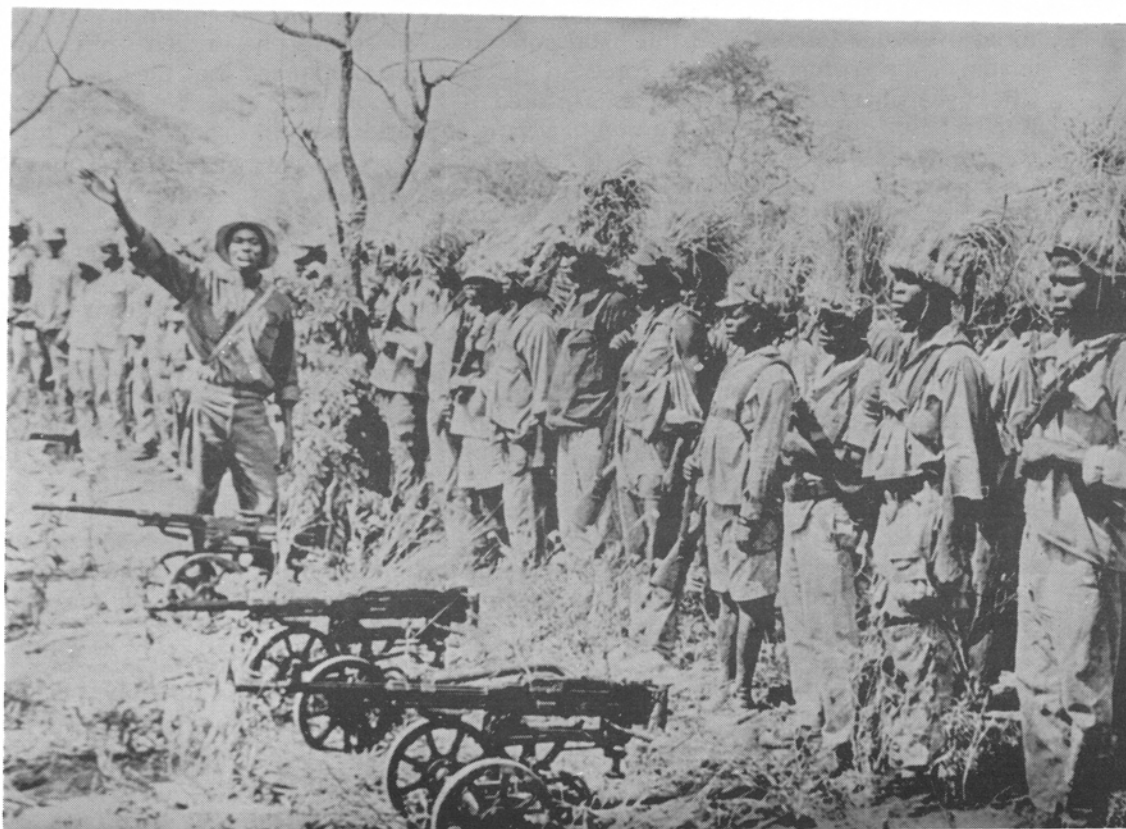
It was just such absurdities which prompted a cameraman who visited our liberated zones in Niassa Province in October of last year to comment (as quoted in an earlier issue of *Mozambique Revolution*): 'The Portuguese reports have begun to defeat their own objectives. For if FRELIMO had been wiped out in June, how could they be wiped out again in August and now again in December?'

The pattern which he then so correctly identified has merely continued. The very commander who last year exhorted his troops to seize total victory with a single blow (and later claimed just such a victory) now, in April 1971, tells his men to 'go forth, fight and win'. 'If the results live up to the expectations, another — and perhaps decisive — step will have been taken to win the war and to win the peace'. And perhaps the international press is poised, even now, to announce yet another total victory!

The truth, is, of course, the exact reverse of these various claims (and such rhetoric cannot long continue to conceal the defeats which the Portuguese are suffering on all fronts in Mozambique). For far from being a 'great offensive' the Portuguese operations for 1971 are actually a desperate attempted counter-offensive designed to contain our own advances. In fact, in Cabo Delgado we are attacking the enemy on the outskirts of the capital, Porto Amelia; our fighters are operating on both sides of the river Montepuez and opening new foci of armed struggle well behind the defensive perimeter claimed by the enemy.

In Niassa Province we have isolated the capital Vila Cabral, while at the same time extending the armed struggle towards the South and East. In Tete Province, we control large regions North of the Zambezi River. Our guerrillas have crossed the river and are operating in the Southern zone, having already engaged in important battles throughout the whole of that zone, thereby directly threatening the imperialist project at Cahora Bassa.

Thus, this fresh 'great offensive' found our fighters and people not only prepared for it, with all roads mined, the masses armed and guerrillas at their posts, but actually on the attack themselves. And when the Portuguese entered the bush they were literally decimated, as can be confirmed from the reports of our military operations which are published elsewhere in this issue. In the figures which are now available one can already see yet another 'great offensive' smashed before it even begins. In fact the only serious casualty of this year's futile military efforts may well be the myth of Portuguese 'success' itself.





# WAR COMMUNIQUE

## report from the military front

### TETE

During the period between 18th January and 24th April, 1971, (partial report) FRELIMO guerrillas in TETE attacked and partially destroyed 9 Portuguese posts, killed 133 soldiers, destroyed 20 military vehicles, blew up the bridge over river Mutsessa and captured a large amount of war equipment.

In addition, on the 24th April, one military vehicle was blown up and 3 Rhodesian soldiers were killed in the zone of Siciko. They had entered Mozambique to help the Portuguese soldiers of the post of Mukumbura which was being attacked by our guerrillas.

### ATTACKS

		Enemy killed
FEB.		
12th	Camp PALULA, Angónia region	8
15th	Post of CHIOCO	5
17th	Post of FURANCUNGO	3
MAR.		
13th	Post of KATONDO (Furancungo region)	7
17th	Post of ARMANDO (region of Nyaluwiro)	?
24th	Camp of MULUMBWA (region Cahora Bassa)	11
25th	Post of CHIDIMA, region of Kagombe	5
APR.		
12th	Camp of NTAWA	10
24th	Post of MUKUMBURA	?

### AMBUSHES

		Enemy killed	Vehicles destroyed
JAN.			
18th	MAKHUNGWE region	5	

### FEB.

10th	CHITENGO	2	—
18th	Rd. MAGUÉ—CHICOA	3	1
28th	KATONDO	1	—

### MAR.

3rd	KATONDO	3	—
10th	NKANYA	6	—
15th	VILA - GAMITO	?	2
17th	Rd. CAUNDA—MABVUDZI	?	1
23rd	Rd. TETE—MARARA	4	1

### APR.

6th	Rd. MAGUÉ—CHICOA	8	—
10th	Rdc camp of MAGUÉ	3	1

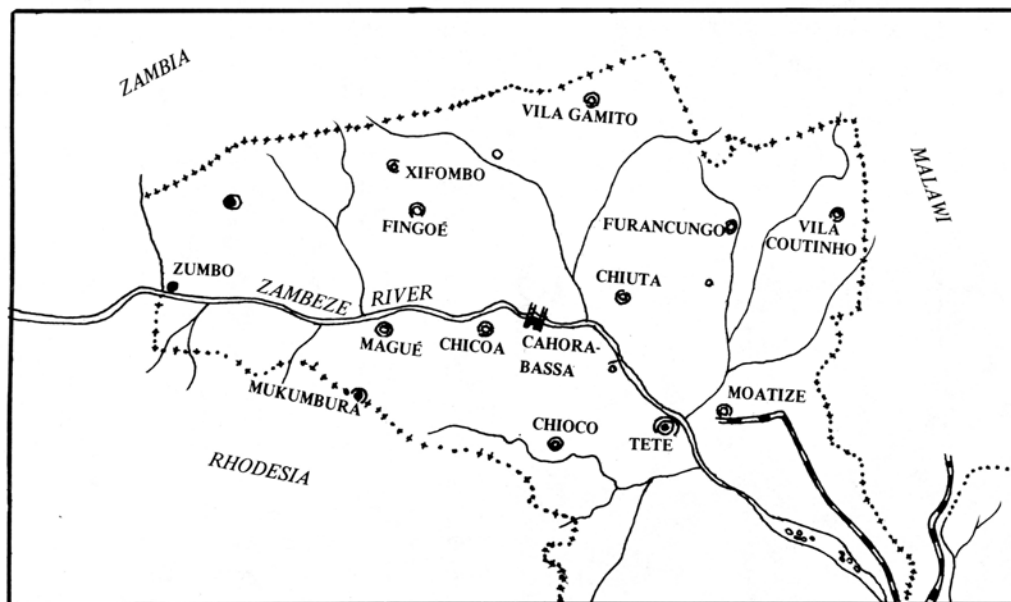
### SABOTAGE

### FEB.

3rd	Rd. CASULA—TETE	?	1
17th	Rd. CHIOCO—TETE	?	1
21st	CHUFOMBO	4	—
25th	Rd. FINGOE—UNCANHA	3	1
26th	Rd. TETE—FURANCUNGO	7	2
28th	Rd. FINGOE—ZUMBO	6	1

### MAR.

4th	Rd. MAGUÉ—CHICOA	4	1
5th	BUXO, region of Cahora Bassa	6	1
15th	CHULU (region of Cahora Bassa)	2	1
16th	Rd. MAGUE—CHICOA	4	1
23rd	Rd. CAUNDA—MABVUDZI	6	2
27th	Rd. CHICOA—TETE	5	1
29th	Rd. CHICOA—MAGUÉ	2	1



## NIASSA

In NIASSA in the period between 15th February and 30th March, our guerrillas attacked 2 posts (Chonde and Luatize.)

The ambush and sabotage operations resulted in 29 Portuguese soldiers killed, 6 military vehicles destroyed and the bridge over the river Luatize blown up.

## CABO DELGADO

From 17th January to 11th May, 1971, FRELIMO guerrillas in CABO DELGADO attacked the posts of Nonia (17th January) Nangololo (7th April) and Nyankoma (16th April). The posts were partially destroyed and an important amount of equipment was captured in Nonia.

Our sabotage actions and ambushes resulted in the death of more than 350 Portuguese soldiers, 73 vehicles destroyed, 2 bridges blown up (near the post of Ng'apa), 113 people freed from the «protected villages», 2 sentries from the post of Nazombe killed by our snipers and a large amount of war material captured, including arms (specially G-3 sub-machine guns), ammunition, uniforms and civilian clothes.

### AMBUSHES

		Enemy killed	Vehicles destroyed
<b>FEB.</b>			
4th	Road Nyankoma - Muaguide	2	
12th	Road Nangololo - Miteda	5	
<b>MAR.</b>			
8th	Road Macomia - Chai	10	
13th	Nyankoma region	12	3
22th	Panamosi, Ancuabe zone	6	1
29th	Road Macomia - Chai	12	2
31st	Rd Muidumbe - Nangololo	7	
<b>APR.</b>			
3rd	Chai (in a shamba)	2	
3rd	Road Mueda - Vanomba	?	
5th	Rd Muaguide - Nyankoma	3	
7th	Rd Muidumbe - Nangololo	?	
12th	Village of Namavanga (Mueda)	9	
21st	Rd Mueda - Namatili	12	
21st	Zone of Macomia	7	
23rd	Nasilonda	10	
23rd	Zone of Ibo	9	
24th	Mueda	6	



## MAY

1st	Lung'ombe	5	
7th	Rd Nangade - Pundanmar	12	4
11th	«Protected village» of Ntola (103 people were freed)	?	

### SABOTAGE

<b>JAN.</b>			
22nd	Rd Pundanmar - Nangade	6	1
23rd	Rd Moc. Praia - Diaca	?	1
23rd	Rd Diaca - Sagal	?	1
27th	Rd Sofala - Nangade	?	3

## FEB.

5th	Namatili	12	1
9th	Pundanmar - Nangade	?	1
11th	Rd Mueda - Ng'apa	5	1
23th-			
27th	Zone of Nangade	?	7
27th	Rd Nyankoma - Cuero	6	2

## MAR.

4th Rd	Rd Mueda - Vanomba	10	2
5th	Rd Mueda - Vanomba	7	2
11th	Rd Moc. Praia - Nambude	5	1
12th	Rd Mueda - Miteda	11	3
13th	Rd Mueda - Nacatar	4	2
13th	Zone of Nchilema (rd Mueda-Vanomba)	8	1
18th	Rd Mueda - Sagal	7	1
18th	Rd Mueda - Nacatar	9	2
18th	Zone of Mwanjungula	3	
22th	Rd Panamosi - Ancuabe	6	1
23rd	rd Nangade - Sofala	5	2
26th	Rd Mueda - Ntuchi	3	
27th	Rd Nacatar - Mueda	5	1

## APR.

5th	Rd Mueda - Miteda	6	1
7th	Rd Nangololo - Muidumbe	12	4
8th	Rd Chai - Macomia	5	1
10th	Zone Nakitenge (Moc. da Praia)	11	3
12th	Zone of Mueda	3	1
14th	Rd Sagal - Mueda	6	2
16th	Rd Nacatar - Mueda	3	1
18th	Rd Mueda - Sagal	4	1
23rd	Rd Nangade - Sofala	1	1
23rd	Rd Pundanmar - Nangade	6	1
27th	Rd Diaca - Moc. da Praia	5	1
27th	Rd Mueda - Nampula	8	
27th	Rd Namaele - Macomia	4	1
28th	Rd Mueda - Nampula	7	

## MAY

1st	Rd Miteda - Nangololo	1	1
3rd	Rd Nangololo - Miteda	5	1
4th	rd Miteda - Nangololo	13	3
7th	Rd Diaca - Sagal	4	1
7th	Rd Mueda - Sagal	7	2
8th	Rd Miteda - Mueda	3	1
9th	Rd Moc. da Praia - Diaca		

## TETE PROVINCE

The intensification of our military operations in the zone of Cahora Bassa, which is one of the targets of FRELIMO in Tete Province, led recently to the destruction of three vehicles and one shop; the death of a number of Portuguese soldiers; capture of a Portuguese civilian; capture of very important material for the Cahora Bassa Project, including plans for that scheme.

### Details of the Operations.

On the 9th of April an enemy convoy comprising civilian cars escorted by military lorries was ambushed on the road between Tete and Cahora Bassa, 20 kms. from Cahora Bassa. One lorry was blown up and the soldiers in it were killed. One of the cars — with the registration number MBE-45-28 was assaulted and all the material it was transporting was captured. The material included high-precision instruments and eight big files with documents — plans for the construction of the Dam.

On the 30th of April, a FRELIMO unit attacked a shop of a Portuguese trader, called Maneca, on the road of Cahora Bassa.

The shop supplied the colonialist troops and was housing a number of them. The shop was destroyed, and some soldiers killed and wounded.

On the 2nd of May, our comrades ambushed a convoy on the road between Tete and Cahora Bassa. The civilian vehicles of this convoy belonged to a company which supplies fuel to the airbase of Chitima. This airbase is for the defence of the Cahora Bassa Dam. One of the cars (registration number MMB-44-04) was assaulted and its occupants were captured. These included a Portuguese and three Mozambicans. The name of the Portuguese is Jose Lopes, he is 30 years old and was born in Tras-Os-Montes (Portugal). He is married with two children. His family lives in the town of Tete. The four captured men were taken to a FRELIMO base where they stayed for about three weeks. During this period they were explained the nature and objectives of our struggle, and several aspects of the policy of FRELIMO. They were then released by our comrades in accordance with the policy of clemency defined by the 2nd Congress of FRELIMO. The Portuguese civilian returned to Tete. The 3 Mozambicans decided to stay in our zone, integrated into FRELIMO.

15th July, 1971.

## AVISO À POPULAÇÃO

**O inimigo atravessa o Rio Zambeze para fugir da presença da Tropa e também para fazer milando com outras populações.**

**A Tropa tem que defender as populações desses bandidos. Mas a Tropa quando vê gente no rio não sabe se é gente da população, se é bandido.**



**A população não deve atravessar o rio.**

**A população não deve andar junto com bandido.**

**Tropa vai matar bandido que atravessar o Rio Zambeze.**

**Tropa vai deitar fogo a todos os barcos.**

**Não atravesse o rio. Foge dos bandidos.**

**SE NÃO, MORRERÁS.**

The Portuguese are interpreting the progress of our struggle in a new and bizarre way. Unable to conceal the advance of our forces, who are already operating in the south of Tete Province, the Portuguese are now claiming that we crossed the Zambezi River into southern Tete in ORDER TO RUN AWAY FROM THEIR TROOPS! The absurdity of this claim is so obvious that it deserves no comment.

At the same time (and this is another sign of their weakness) the Portuguese have launched a terror campaign, killing all villagers who cross the river Zambezi or who are found in possession of any boat. And, significantly, they are not ashamed of their terrorist acts: they actually publicise them. Thousands of leaflets like this, entitled «Warning to the population» are being spread in the region along the river. The text reads as follows:

«The enemy (meaning FRELIMO) crosses the Zambezi river in order to escape from the (Portuguese) troops and also to make trouble with other populations.

The troops have to defend the populations from bandits. But when the troops see people on the river they do not know if they are local people or if they are bandits.

The population must not cross the river. The population must not go around with the bandits. The troops are going to kill the bandits who cross the Zambezi.

The troops are going to set fire to all boats. Don't cross the river. Run away from the bandits. Otherwise, you will die.

And for those who cannot read, a drawing makes the meaning crystal clear.

In this way the Portuguese themselves reveal to the world the barbarity of the methods they are using to suppress the people of Mozambique.





# ***the freedom struggle as the people see it***

*In his constant travels throughout the fighting areas of Mozambique, Comrade Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO, holds countless meetings with villagers, local leaders and fighters. Recently in Tete Province he held one such meeting with a group of peasants, students, members of the local committees and guerrillas from the detachment in that area. As is usually the case an open discussion on various aspects of the liberation struggle ensued. The following is a partial record of what took place that day.*

«Several years ago, virtually the only occasions when we came together for a meeting and discussion was when we were considering going off to work in the South African or Rhodesian mines, or planning a wedding, or something similar. We still discuss future plans, but these plans are of a very different kind. Now we meet to discuss our liberation struggle, to exchange ideas and experiences, to learn from each other, so that the liberation war can be pursued more effectively each day.

In our discussions we identify specific local problems. But we must also consider very seriously the more general highly important issues on the nature of our war, why we are fighting and who, what are our ultimate goals and how do we achieve them. If a man constructs a house he must know for whom he is building, for what it will be used. He cannot do the work without asking why? For what? How? And the same for cultivating, sewing, etc. — and the same for the revolution. A war without know-

ledge is a dangerous war. A man who takes up a gun and kills another man without being fully aware that he is doing that in the interests of his people, is a criminal. And our war being a revolutionary and popular war, we cannot have criminals in our ranks, people who do not know for what and against who they are fighting. Life is very hard for a peasant, and in Tete last year there was the enemy offensive. Crops were destroyed and there was suffering. We must be fully aware that the only thing responsible for our suffering is Portuguese colonialism. If there was not colonialism in our country there would be no war, and therefore none of the difficulties resulting from the war. So why exactly are we fighting and who? »

**One student answered:** «We are fighting the Portuguese who came to usurp our lands.» **A fighter, Kamioni Botao, says:** «I am fighting the Portuguese because when I was a child I can remember that my father used to go and work in Rhodesia and when he returned he brought home only a small piece of cloth that wasn't even big enough for my mother. I thought that he was just a waster, but when I grew up I found that I also earned very little and most of the money had to go in taxes. I saw whites come from Portugal with nothing and within a few months they had enough money to buy a car and many other things. When we had no money to pay our taxes we were beaten and put to forced labour. The

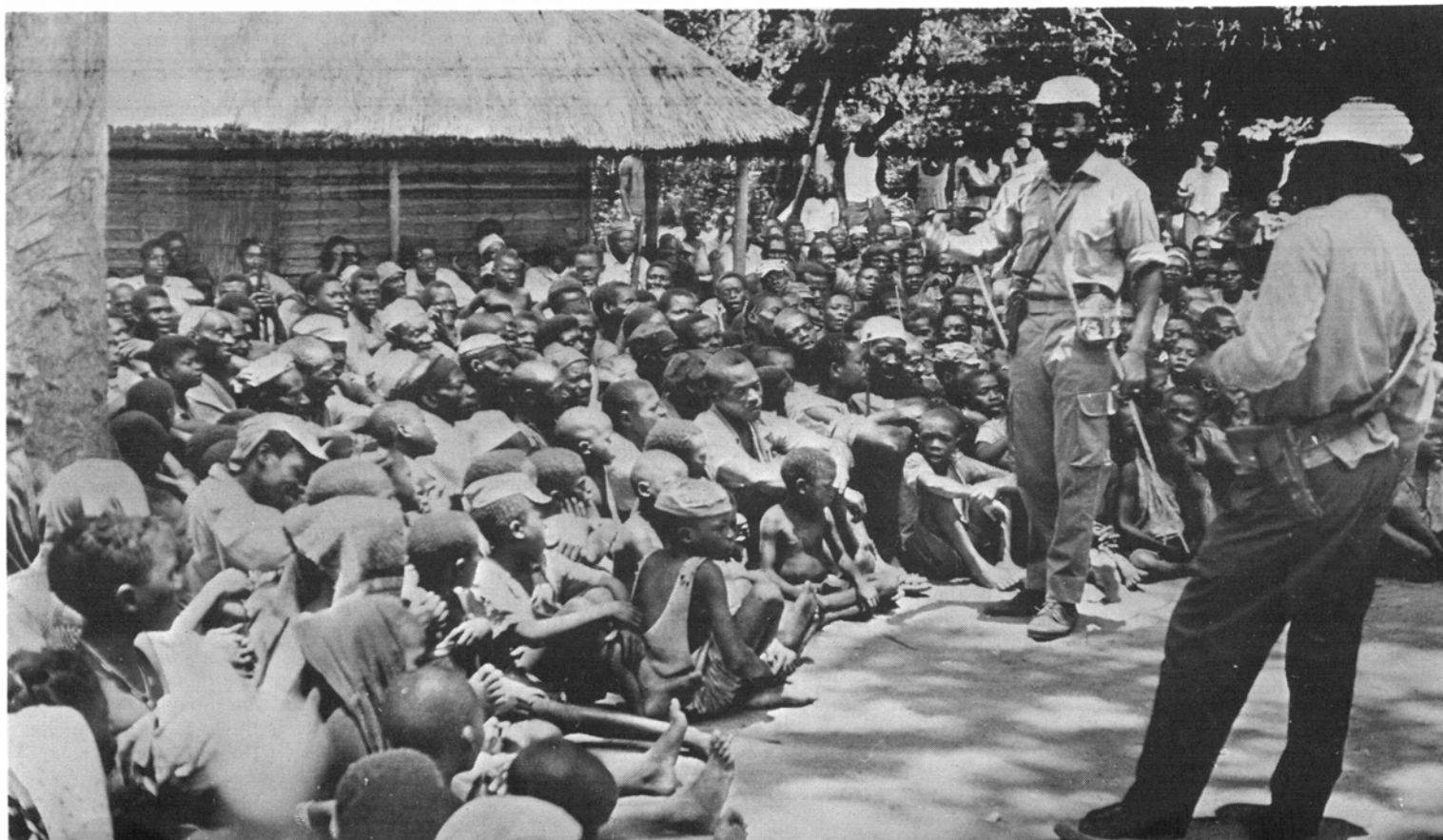
prices of our products were fixed by the buyer and when we protested we were just told that we should not play around with the Portuguese. To travel even a short distance we had to have a pass. What is the use of living like this? I want our independence. As it is necessary to fight for it I am fighting.» **Soka Saulula another fighter, speaks:** «We are a new generation. The previous generation died under great suffering. Our ancestors let a snake enter their house and it grew up there. But they never united together to take the stick that would kill the snake. Today we can see that they failed because they lacked unity. If they had united we would have been born free. The snake came here, it was not born here. The Portuguese colonialist made us carry his machila, to carry another man, and his dog, and his pots and plates, and we were treated like animals, and for this we have a tremendous hatred that haunts us even in our dreams. We must put an end to this, because if we do not succeed in killing the snake, then the snake will destroy us as it destroyed our ancestors. We must fight to achieve what they were unable to do and we shall fight until the end.»

To this **Silia Abel from the same detachment adds:** «I agree with what my comrades have just said. Our generation was like cattle in a pen. It was even difficult to realise that we were people. But now the time has come to say — enough. Unlike our fathers we know the importance and necessity of organisation and planning,

and good weapons. We can see even now that we are realising our plan and therefore can endure all the difficulties to come — hunger, rain, cold, nakedness — for we know that these are only temporary. We have an old saying, that the bee dies in the honeycomb, and the day will come when the Portuguese will raise their hands and say — keep your land.» Many other people at the meeting talk of similar things, insults, palmatoria, forced labour, low wages, high taxes, abuse of their women, beatings, control of their movements. **Betswel Wezulo** points out that although they were always being pressed for taxes they never had any hospitals or schools. **A committee member, Sebastiao Chokati says:** «This is our country and the Portuguese are robbers.»

He describes carrying the machila from Tete to Furancungo back to Tete and then to Vila Gamito. **Nepiala Kamtamba** likens the Portuguese to big flies living off the blood, but who finally die in the place where they are sucking.

**Our comrade, President Machel, replies to these statements..** «We must always remember that the enemy is the Portuguese colonialist, and you must remember this until independence is gained, particularly you students who are here, for you will never experience any of these things. But who are the Portuguese colonailists? What do they look like? They are the Portuguese soldiers who kill so that the



Portuguese government can remain here, who defend the mines of Moatize, the cattle herds, the plantations; they are the police who arrest you and send you to forced labour, they are the administrators who do the same, or employ you but do not pay, or fix the prices. You must also remember that among the troops and police there are some black people who are there because they want to be. And that there are white soldiers in the Portuguese army who do not want to do the killing and robbing they are told to do. When some of these soldiers come over to us and show their support for us by refusing to kill our people, they are demonstrating that they know that this is not their war or their country. They have refused to fight us. It is vitally important to know the enemy, because if we don't we run the risk of killing our friends and allies and sparing our real enemies. When the Portuguese troops appear against us we must kill them all because they are all just as much our enemy. But to shoot a Portuguese soldier who surrenders or deserts would be a crime just as taking a knife to a comrade. If any of you did this you would be helping our enemy, and if anyone refused to kill a black soldier just because he was black, this means you do not know who the enemy is and in that way you are helping them. The enemy comes in many forms and we must have complete control over our zones and constant vigilance against the infiltration of agents.

Some of you have more personal and painful experience of the enemy than I do. You and your brothers and fathers have been killed and maimed in the mines and building the bridges. Now over these bridges, built with Mozambican blood, come the military cars to kill us. The metal in the planes that bomb us come from the mines where our people died. As the comrades have said, before FRELIMO came we did not know what to do. Comrade Kamtembe spoke of a fly sucking blood, but now we can save the blood that remains. The flies come either by plane or in big groups but now we are organised and well armed and can defend ourselves and also attack. You are now cultivating much maize in this region, you keep many chickens, there is no forced labour and no taxes, and all this is through the force of our weapons.

But, in addition to strong weapons, there are also other important elements, already mentioned by some comrades earlier. These are organisation and unity. Organisation is the result of our party, FRELIMO; and just as we must constantly ensure that we know who is the enemy, so we must know what we mean



Comrade Kamioni Botao, a FRELIMO fighter

by FRELIMO. Who is FRELIMO? » **One committee member answers:** «FRELIMO is all of us.» **Another says:** «FRELIMO is the unity. If we are united the war cannot be difficult. We are united under FRELIMO, and whereas before we thought it was impossible to fight the Portuguese, now we know that they can be expelled in time.»

#### President Samora continues:

«It is important that you always remember this. You have grown up accustomed to seeing bosses, administrators, police, chefes de posto, and many other elements of Portuguese colonialism, coming into your villages and giving orders. You were never consulted or involved before, when the only discussions were among the colonialists to find the best ways to dominate us. Now everyone thinks, works, analyses and discusses everything together. But there is still the danger that some people might, as a result of their earlier experiences, identify FRELIMO with just one or two of the leaders, for example they might think that they are working for me, and say when I arrive at a place 'FRELIMO has come'. Such ideas must always be vigorously combatted.»

**Comrade Amos Chamsinga says:** «We all know that FRELIMO is a big organisation that means unity. Our ancestors suffered very much but then FRELIMO arose and from the very beginning we all started to work together, and saw that this made us strong. I was one of these people who collaborated with the Portuguese because I could not see any way of fighting them. But then FRELIMO came into the region and I joined with them, and was immediately able to help in one operation. I used to be sent by the Portuguese to recruit people for aldeamentos.

I told them one day that many people in one area were ready, and agreed to take them there. When they arrived they were ambushed by other FRELIMO comrades in hiding, and many Portuguese soldiers were killed. Shortly afterwards the Portuguese abandoned the post where these troops had been stationed.» **A woman, Manes Juma adds:** «FRELIMO is the unity of the people. We were living in our village and then one day the Portuguese came to take us to the aldeamentos. When we heard about this we had thought of running away to Malawi. But we decided we should stay and fight with FRELIMO. We went in to the bush and then later there was the ambush of the soldiers from the post. Since the post has been closed we have lived in peace in this zone except for air attacks. We have already cultivated very much and our only problem last year was the lack of rains and the pigs and monkeys who ate some of our crops.»

#### Comrade Samora:

«We must always remember that we all here are Mozambicans and we are all members of FRELIMO. A Mozambican and a FRELIMO member is anyone who participates in the war, who accepts to make sacrifices, even his life, for his country, who faces the difficulties of his people with his own body and strength, who uses all his intelligence and energy to expel the Portuguese. To be a FRELIMO member is not to carry a card. The one who goes on reconnaissance to detect the enemy knows there may be death ahead but he does not care. He does everything in his power to free Mozambique. The one who carries war material, climbs mountains, crosses rivers endures hunger even though he is carrying food but knows this is to feed comrades in distant places. He is a Mozambican and a FRELIMO member.





The best comrades are those who stay together during difficult times - the one who having little food, shares it with his brother because he knows that when we are many and work together we are stronger. But we must also remember that Mozambique is not just this area where you live. Our country stretches very far, from the Rovuma in the north to Maputo in the south. When we go to Beira, Zambezia or Cabo Delgado we are still in Mozambique. And the people there are fighting just as here. If we have peace in this region today, it is because the planes are now over Cabo Delgado and Niassa; the people can live and grow their crops in Niassa because the war is being conducted in Tete and Cabo Delgado. The guerrillas in the front lines are from all over Mozambique.» **One of the students interjects:** «In school our teacher teaches us to be Mozambicans. If we had been born over the border in the north we would have been Zambians, but we aren't and, we aren't Portuguese either. We are sons of Mozambique, fighting for the liberation of Mozambique».

**Comrade Samora replies:**

«That is true, and that is why you did not run away when the war came. What you feel about the liberation of Mozambique must be different to what a foreigner feels, but it is the same as our people in Beira, Lourenco Marques, Cabo Delgado, and other parts of Tete feel. We are all fighting the same enemy.

«It is very difficult for some people to understand the size of our country. This is not surprising when you have never been outside your home area, when you needed passes to travel anywhere, even a few miles. It is necessary therefore always to remember that Chufumbo is our coun-

try, Chioco, Furancungo and Mutarara are in our country. When we cross south of the Zambezi we are still in our country, Mozambique.

«Mozambique is our home and the only stranger here is the Portuguese. The one who fights side by side with you, who gives you food when you are hungry, who treats you when you are wounded, is your brother and comrade, no matter from which part of Mozambique he comes. We must never think we are Mozambicans because we come from a certain tribe. That is a tactic the Portuguese have always used to keep us weak and divided. During the wars of our fathers, as mentioned by the comrades earlier, the Portuguese would come to the Ngonis and tell them that the Senas wanted to steal their land. This would set these two tribes fighting against each other and in the end the only ones to have the land would be the Portuguese. If the Senas won, they would then be incited to attack the Nyungwes, and these to fight the Ndaus. In this way the Portuguese have remained powerful in Mozambique.

**One member of the local Committee, comrade Nepiala Kantambe, asks comrade Samora to explain exactly which are the different tasks to be carried out by them, and which are the most important.**

«There are many tasks to be undertaken to advance the war, and all of them are equally important in contributing to driving the Portuguese out of our country. The main task of the soldier is to fight and annihilate the enemy. The task of the peasants is to cultivate for themselves and the fighters, to participate in their own defence and to help transport war materials. The reason you can culti-

vate here in peace is because you have helped transport war materials to distant parts, to the advance zones of combat. All of us are working in this war. Soldiers may think their task is more important than that of the civilians, men may think they are working more than women, some women may think they do more than men, and the same with the young and the old. But it is important to realise that although FRELIMO is big and growing every day, for us to be big we had to be small first. We must not think that one task is more important than another. Our Organisation FRELIMO is like the body. The head is to think, the stomach is to receive food and distribute it. Even the skin and the nails are important. The body can only function when all its parts work together and in harmony. And every effort made, no matter how small it may seem to others, is important.

«Old people have important responsibilities in the war. They must constantly guide the young along the right paths. If we teach a child to steal he will be a thief when he grows up. When a child sees fire it touches, when it sees medicine it drinks. It needs constant guidance. To work in a shamba you need strong legs and hands and back. But a fool with all these things does not work well because he does not use his head to think. Our fighters can have weapons to give them strength but if they do not think correctly about what they are doing they will achieve nothing. In order to think correctly it is necessary to have learned.

**One mother, Maria Mtukuliza, asks comrade Samora to reprimand her young son, who is among the students, because sometimes the son does not want to go to school and goes to play instead; and also neglects his homework. Comrade Samora explains the role of the students in the revolution and concludes:**

«You, children and students, also have important responsibilities. The results of our work will probably not be seen by us, but by you and your children. We are fighting so that you will never experience the machila and the palmatoria. But to achieve this you must play your part for in time it will be you who will be making the war. We have provoked the beast but it is you who will finally kill him. You must study hard so as to better contribute to the organisation and building of our country. You must also help teach your parents to read and write.

«Women must also play an active part. When the Portuguese shoot they do not distinguish between men and women. There is not one war for men and another

for women. Women must know the work their husbands are doing, particularly in time of war. There are some people who think that women cannot do anything when men are not around. But this is insulting to our Mozambican women. They have already shown that they can take initiatives and responsibility when given the chance. This opportunity was denied them by the colonialists and even by our traditional society. But now with the revolution this has changed. We have women on the Central Committee and have women at the War Command, and are always doing our utmost to raise the status of women. Some of our women trained and experienced in Cabo Delgado and Niassa are now working in Tete.

**Another member of the Committee, comrade Shaban Namwelo, speaks about the successes they have achieved in the zone, specially in increasing production. He says that for more than 6 months the enemy has not entered their region, and that peace is complete there. Comrade Samora:**

«We have achieved much but we must not pause in the struggle, we must continue the fight and in particular in areas like this, from where the enemy has been driven out, we must never relax but be constantly vigilant. You know that when a crocodile bites someone and that person escapes, the animal will walk for many miles following the scent of the blood. It is the same with the Portuguese enemy. He is now in the town - isolated - but he is always making plans to come out again and carry on what he started. We have the advantage because this is our home, and just as a woman knows where is her fire and her pans, so we know where are our weapons, we know the terrain, what products grow well, things that the Portuguese have to make long studies before they can discover. I have been marching for some weeks in Tete province and have seen that we have already cultivated very much here. But we must be aware that the enemy can still come and try to destroy everything. In some regions where the people had good production and had come to take their peace too much for granted, the people used to dance at night. But then the next day they were not fit for work. It is also at such time that different kinds of vices appear, and this is very bad for the war, and also there sometimes appear those people who try to live off the work of others, stealing instead of working. This is against our life and our independence. We must build a healthy society where men and women respect and love each other. This is the only way to build a strong Mozambique.

**In connection with a discussion which ensues on the fact that the Portuguese are trying to alienate some people from the struggle by giving them some privileges and cutting down certain taxes, FRELIMO's President replies:**

«At the beginning I said that we must know what we are fighting for. Many comrades have spoken about all that they suffered under the Portuguese, and nearly all of them spoke of the oppressive taxes and beatings. If these things were stopped, would we then stop fighting? Of course not. Because we are fighting Portuguese colonialism of which these are just one aspect. After independence we will have a government that will need taxes to build up our country and to do things for our people. All the things that FRELIMO does now will be government tasks then. The taxes we give the Portuguese are bad because the money does not stay here and does not benefit our people, it benefits the Portuguese. The bad thing is not to pay taxes, but the way the money is used. It should be used to develop our agriculture not Portuguese settlements, to improve our health, give us an education, improve our transport. All that the Portuguese have ever done in this field has been with the intention of increasing their exploitation of us. And even if they build hospitals and schools, the struggle must still continue against them. In the first place, the concession of some material advantages or privileges by the Portuguese to Mozambicans would be just a deceptive manoeuvre to try to alienate our people from the revolution. We must be aware of this and vigilant. And in any case, the basic issue is the one of our independence. And colonialism means domination. We are already building ourselves schools, hospitals, shops and improved agriculture in the liberated areas. And they are serving us and not a foreign group or a foreign country.

**One fighter, comrade Lakeyo Mgana, asks about the best way to defend their camps and methods for improvement in production. Comrade Samora summarises the directives: extend the war to new zones, and work collectively.**

«Together we are all building a new life in Mozambique. When the war started we had only light weapons, later came the automatic weapons, bazookas and mines. Then the enemy abandoned the roads. Later there came heavy weapons so that we could attack the enemy from afar. Then we were able to start cultivation in peace. The production you are doing here is due to the fact that you always carry far to advance zones to permit the fighting

comrades to spread the war there. As there is no forced labour here you have committees to decide on transport, just as you have committees in many other fields.

«In production you are growing new crops introduced to you by FRELIMO. You produce more than before in order to feed the fighters and also to be able to exchange some for clothing. You are able to do this because although one man alone might be able to produce enough to feed himself, he cannot produce more and therefore you began to work together in cooperatives. You must continue to work collectively and increase production of those crops formerly unknown in Tete and recently introduced - particularly those that are adapted to war conditions, which are more resistant to bombing raids and grow easily.

«When we started the war, the Portuguese despised us. They said we would never be able to fight them. At the beginning they would conceal the facts about the struggle, particularly about the deaths of Portuguese soldiers. Only reports about the Africans in the Portuguese forces were given and they would show pictures of these to the populations in an attempt to mobilise them by showing that FRELIMO killed black people. When the Portuguese killed children in their operations they told the people that they were killed by FRELIMO. And all the time they concealed the war. When foreign newspapers wrote about the war in Mozambique the Portuguese would deny it. When the struggle spread to Tete they denied this too for a long time. They claimed that it was just people from Zambia who were causing disturbances here. But even though the Portuguese use such tactics of lies, we must never hide the truth. To do this is like rubbing fire with grass. Today the Portuguese have been forced to change their tune. At the beginning they said we were small groups of bandits but now they are going through the world asking for weapons to fight us.

«Our main objectives are to expel the Portuguese and to liberate our country - to liberate everyone, men, women and children. And by liberating we mean not only from Portuguese colonialism, but also to establish a new life for our people with justice and equality, a society where no exploitation will be possible. In their propaganda outside the enemy say that we are Portuguese. But by our struggle and our work we are showing them and the rest of the world that we are not and never will be Portuguese. Our country, Mozambique will be free. A LUTA CONTINUA.»

*Josina you are not dead*

Josina you are not dead because we have assumed your responsibilities and they live in us.

You have not died for the causes you championed were inherited by us in their entirety.

You are gone from us, but the weapon and rucksack that you left, your tools of work, are part of my burden.

The blood you shed is but a small drop in the flood we have already given and still have to give.

The earth must be nourished and the more fertile it is the better do its trees flourish, the bigger are the shadows they cast, the sweeter are their fruits.

Out of your memory I will fashion a hoe to turn the sod enriched by your sacrifice. . . And new fruits will grow.

The Revolution renews itself from its best and most beloved children.

This is the meaning of your sacrifice: it will be a living example to be followed.

My joy is that as patriot and woman you died doubly free in this time when the new power and the new woman are emerging.

In your last moments you apologised to the doctors for not being able to help them.

The manner in which you accepted the sacrifice is an inexhaustible source of inspiration and courage.

When a comrade so completely assumes the new values he wins our heart, becomes our banner.

Thus more than wife, you were to me sister, friend and comrade-in-arms.

How can we mourn a comrade but by holding the fallen gun and continuing the combat.

My tears flow from the same source that gave birth to our love, our will and our revolutionary life.

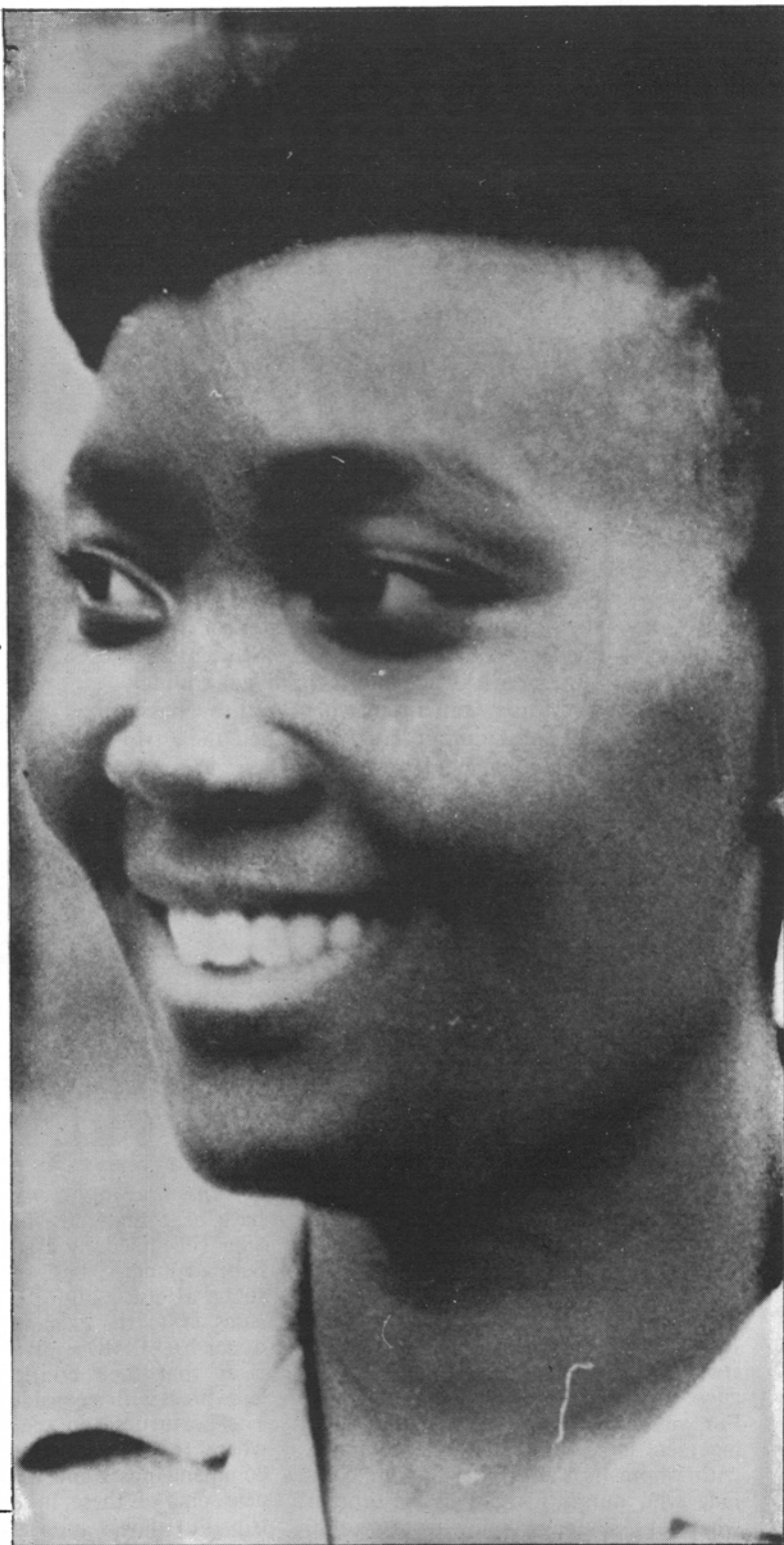
Thus these tears are both a token and a vow of combat.

The flowers which fall from the tree are to prepare the land for new and more beautiful flowers to bloom in the next season.

Your life continues in those who continue the Revolution.

*Samora Moisés Machel*

*7th July, 1971.*





# MARCHING WITH FRELIMO

Last May, the President and the Minister of Information of the Dar es Salaam University Students Organisation, Symonds Akivaga and Issa Shivachi, undertook, in their words, «an intensive tour into Niassa Province of Mozambique.» They described their trip at a Press Conference held soon after their return to Dar es Salaam. «We entered Mozambique on 13 May For three weeks we marched with FRELIMO freedom fighters seeing for ourselves developments in the liberated areas. Altogether we must have covered 300 miles.» Below we present extracts from their press statement:



*On tribalism:* «We had the good fortune to spend part of our trip in the company of President Samora, who was active in Niassa during this period. It was he who stressed to us that liberation in Mozambique does not mean the mere occupation of an area; instead, in his words, it means both the liberation of the mind and the transformation of society. As we talked with peasants and soldiers the meaning of these words became all the more clear, most dramatically perhaps, with regard to the myth of 'tribalism' which is constantly being encouraged by the Portuguese in their attempt to divide and rule. For we saw with our own eyes that fighting men soon realise that the comrades with whom he shares a tent or the comrade who nurses his gash is his brother wherever he may come from within Mozambique; there was just no time for tribalism in the areas we visited. And we sensed everywhere during long hours of conversation, the great excitement of self-discovery that accompanies the exposure of such colonial myths by the people in the liberated areas.

## DAR STUDENTS VISIT NIASSA PROVINCE AND SEE FOR THEMSELVES WHAT THE REVOLUTION HAS ACHIEVED

*On the liberated zones:* «Many people have been under the impression that the areas occupied by FRELIMO are uninhabited jungles, but we quickly saw this to be a false picture. Even without statistics as to the exact number of people under FRELIMO's jurisdiction, it became clear that their control extended over large areas with a considerable population. The Portuguese on the contrary, are nowhere to be seen. They do have a few command posts and we approached very near one of these in the course of our trip. But it was soon clear that we need have no fear for Portuguese administration virtually stops at the outskirts of these widely scattered encampments. They are unable to effect any real administration and indeed can only move from one post to another by air. They are a barricaded people merely counting their days.

*On Agriculture:* «With regard to agriculture, we saw many impressive examples of what would be called in Tanzania 'ujamaa villages'. FRELIMO has encouraged the people to form farming co-operatives and the practice of various forms of collective cultivation could also be clearly seen in the areas we visited. Several peasants with whom we spoke noted the difference between these new practices and those permitted by the colonialists who had sought with pass laws and the like to control the movement of Africans and to discourage them from pursuing development together in such ways. Time and again, in examining the production sphere, we were reminded of President Samora's words to us when he had insisted on the central importance of the 'transformation of society' in the liberation struggle.

*On Education:* «We had the chance to visit two day schools and one boarding school and were most impressed; in fact FRELIMO schools seemed to offer perfect examples of what President Nyerere must have meant by 'education for self-reliance'. We saw students growing their own food and relying as little as possible on their parents or outside supplies. We found a curriculum that combined science, mathematic and history lessons, political and military training and agricultural activity. And we talked with students whose main goal seemed to be to finish their training as quickly as possible so that they might become teachers in their turn! Of course, we could not ignore the obvious difficulties which this education programme faced, though in many ways, this made the achievements all the more impressive. As we saw, students too often do face shortages of food, proper shelter and clothes, and too often despite their enthusiasm for education they also lack sufficient education materials to read or with which to write. But these particular legacies of a bankrupt colonialism seem merely to spur FRELIMO to greater efforts and indeed the teachers in the liberated zones were among the most impressive cadres whom we met in our travels.

*On Fighters:* «In all our marching we naturally spent much of our time with the FRELIMO fighters themselves. Over hours of contact with them we were continually struck by the degree of unity and determination displayed by these militants, often younger than ourselves. We realised, perhaps for the first time, what it means to undergo genuine hardships—marches of hundreds of miles through swamps, sleep snatched for a few hours in mosquito and tsetse fly infested forests, and gnawing hunger. Yet what to us was a mere excursion to be endured for a few brief weeks, is the daily lot of the dedicated men of FRELIMO. We were therefore surprised to record that at no single moment did we notice the least sign of indiscipline, nor in more off-guard moments, anything resembling grumbling. Discipline and organisation are central in a revolution and it appeared to us that FRELIMO is very much better disciplined and organised than most of us had been led to believe.

*On the People:* «Equally impressive was the relationship which we saw to exist between FRELIMO soldiers and the peasants themselves. We were particularly struck by the fact that the peasants were voluntarily transporting ammunition from the border to FRELIMO bases during our march south and their commitment was also apparent to us when peasants made



generous donations of such food-stuffs as they could afford when we passed by, like chicken, maize, nuts, etc.

But such examples from our own immediate experiences merely bore out the general picture which was everywhere conveyed to us: that the fighters of FRELIMO can only make progress with the full support of the people themselves and that it is just such support which they have managed to earn.»

The students concluded their press conference by pledging their solidarity with the struggle of the Mozambican people, and by announcing, on behalf of the students of the University of Dar Es Salaam, the creation of a 'FRELIMO fund'. In doing so they invited contributions of 'clothes, salt, sugar, almost anything that could be of use' from 'any person or group of persons who have a conscience and are pained by injustice in society.'



## ***A journalist in search of the facts***

Excerpts from articles on the Mozambique struggle written by  
Mr FERDINAND RUHINDA, News Editor of the 'Nationalist'

I must admit that before I went to Mozambique I had hazy notions of a liberated zone. There were times I thought this to be part of FRELIMO's propaganda and that if one dared to cross the Ruvuma, one would immediately land into Portuguese hands. A number of persons I have talked to in Tanzania hold similar views. When therefore I crossed the Ruvuma, stepped on Mozambican soil and looked around, I was a little disappointed to see nothing different from what I had seen on crossing rivers in Tanzania. It was even difficult to believe that I had crossed the border from free and independent Tanzania into what some refer to as a Portuguese Overseas Province.

THE Portuguese claim that there are no liberated areas in Mozambique. They say that the «terrorists» in Northern Mozambique have been overrun and that «acts of terrorism» which occur in these areas are carried out by «communist agents» from Tanzania who cross the Ruvuma under cover of darkness and return the

same night. During the period I was guest of FRELIMO in the Niassa Province, a little over two weeks, I noticed the Portuguese presence only in planes flying overhead, in the marks of their brutality on innocent villages and from their Radio broadcasts. I was told that the Portuguese have a dozen fortified garrisons in the whole province manned by a few hundred soldiers. We actually passed near one of these garrisons at a place known as Valadim on our way back. But the Portuguese soldiers dare not venture out of these fortified garrisons. Their only way out is by air. All the roads, and we crossed three, have been abandoned. Grass was already ankle deep on two of the roads we crossed. I did not of course see everything, but I saw enough to convince me that the whole countryside is under the control of FRELIMO and that there must be other areas in Mozambique which FRELIMO controls as effectively.

BUT the liberation of zones does not consist merely of eliminating Portuguese con-

trol. Liberation to FRELIMO means the liberation of the people. «It is not enough to drive the Portuguese from our areas and then say we have liberated our country. We must also liberate the productive forces of the people. We must liberate their mentality and destroy all the forces that combined with the Portuguese to oppress them.» Comrade Samora explained. He said, for example, that in the liberated zones there was no corruption of any kind, FRELIMO is also abolishing exploitation that used to be carried out even by chiefs through metaphysical and religious myths. «We are going ahead with the constructing of a new society. It is for these reasons that we call our areas liberated zones,» he added.

THE repressive regime of the Portuguese in Niassa has been replaced by a peoples' democracy, the evidence of which I saw at the public meeting which Samora addressed on May 23, at Msawisi village a day's march from the Central Base. About 300 peasants turned up for the meeting.

THE problems of the liberated zones are many. In the Niassa region the peasants are faced with lack of many things. The schools, hospitals and shops which the Portuguese used to run have been closed down. It is FRELIMO which now runs schools, hospitals and brings in consumer supplies. It is a gigantic task of national reconstruction and many problems are facing both FRELIMO and the people. I was told that there are over a million people living in the liberated areas of Mozambique, an eighth of the total population of the country but more than the population of a number of independent African states.

TWO important issues emerged at the first public meeting we attended at Msawisi village, one of which was to recur again and again at every other meeting. One is the participation of the peasantry in the war of liberation and the other is the question of the Mozambican refugees in Tanzania.

The peasants' participation in the war of liberation is at the moment limited to transportation of materials from one place to another, to the production of food on the land and the formation of militias for the defence of their villages. It struck me that the peasants would like to contribute more. Too many young men are demanding to join the regulars but FRELIMO has no facilities for all of them.

However, I noticed one danger from some of the questions that were asked.



Some of the peasants in the liberated zones tend to forget that there is a war going on. I asked Samora whether FRELIMO was aware of this problem and he said that it was a problem of prolonged war. FRELIMO is combatting this problem by involving the peasants more and more in the war of liberation and by political education. «One of the advantages of last year's offensive was that it helped us to remind the peasants that the war of liberation had not yet been won» — he said.

FRELIMO'S Peoples Liberation Army is an army with a difference. Titles such as major, captain or sergeant, are scorned. Everybody refers to each other as «Comrade». All the time there is movement with arms within easy reach. Yet the atmosphere is completely relaxed with comrades cracking jokes about everything, including their war of liberation.

The Portuguese are definitely aware of the existence of the FRELIMO military bases. It is their exact location that they do not know. Whenever they fancy ideas of their whereabouts, they try to destroy them by dropping bombs on their imaginary targets. But not always. The Portuguese may know of the existence of a military base and yet refrain from any attempts at bombing it. This restraint has been forced on them through the loss of their aircraft and men from the strong anti-aircraft fire that stands guard on some of the bases. Besides, FRELIMO's military bases are not permanently located in one place. Like the army itself, the bases too are always on the move.

This constant movement of FRELIMO's freedom fighters and their bases is in fact the deciding strategy. «Constant mobility» is the guerrilla term for it. The first base which we visited had only been constructed a couple of months ago. It could be moved to another location within short notice.

FRELIMO has to feed about 20,000 freedom fighters. Where does it get the food to feed all these people? I saw part of the answer on our way to the Central Base. The land on the other side of the range of mountains in the Niassa region is very fertile. It is particularly good for the cultivation of rice. We passed by large acres which were planted with rice maize and beans.

A number of shambas belong to the freedom fighters themselves. We actually stopped for a few minutes that morning to give a hand to comrades engaged in agriculture work. They are not waiting

for external help before facing one of the most important elements of any war. Napoleon once said that «every army marches on its stomach.»

The participation of the army in food production is providing a good example to the peasants. The drive for more food production can be seen everywhere. This year is not a bad one, there has been plenty of rain and freedom fighters and peasants alike have expanded their shambas. There are also what are called «Production bases». In these bases all those combatants who for one reason or another cannot go to the front, take to the land to produce food for their comrades.

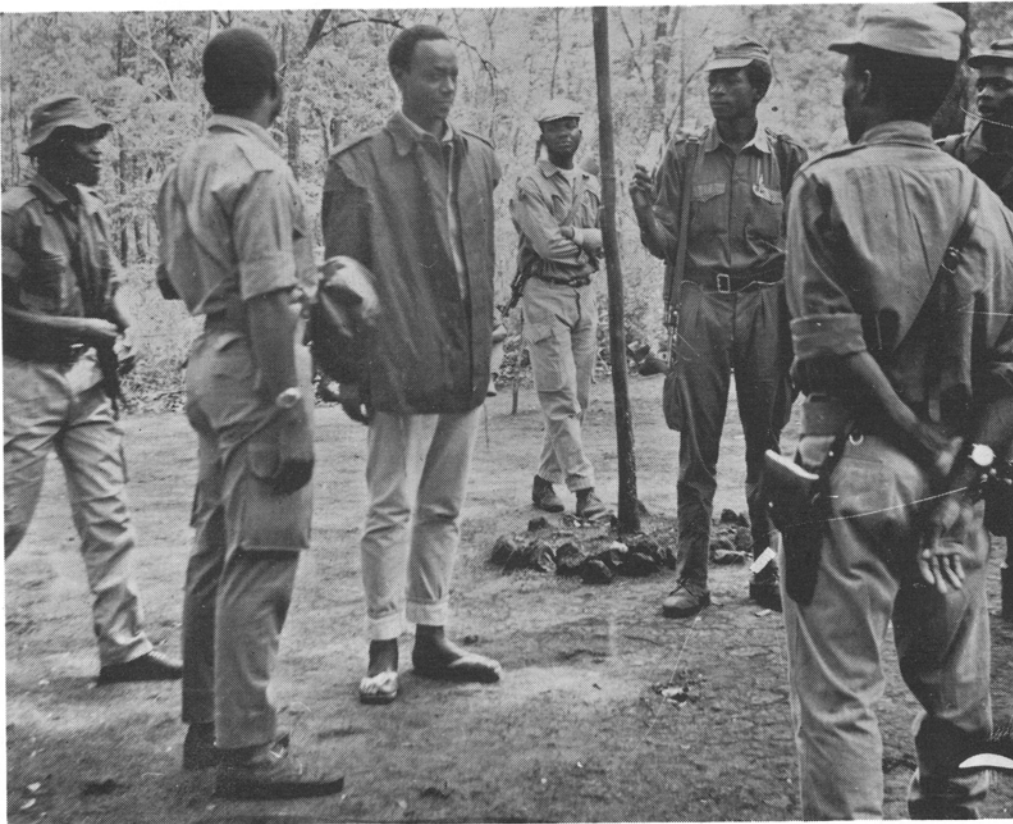
THE next morning, May 17 we started off again in the same direction. We were now covering areas different from anything we had seen so far. Here and there we could see traces of abandoned home steads and shambas. We started to make contact with small population that live in tiny villages separated by miles of bushland. It is one thing to march with a group of armed revolutionaries through territory which they claim to control. It is another when you come across peasants who tell you with confidence that they are free from Portuguese control. Only then does one start to realise the reality of the situation.

THESE impromptu meetings of freedom fighters and peasants are moving scenes. Elders would converge around Samora Machel, some touching him in the way grand-fathers welcome their hero-sons. Mothers come to inquire about their sons serving with FRELIMO in other parts of Mozambique, while the young ones just stand around admiring the soldiers.

THE question is sometimes asked even by well-meaning people, whether FRELIMO has the support of the people of Mozambique? It is not a question of support. Everybody is involved.

Peasants brought us chicken, sugarcane, and flour as we passed through their villages. They would join the marching columns to listen to news about the development of liberation in other areas. They offered to carry the load of the guerrillas and advised them on the best sites for camping.

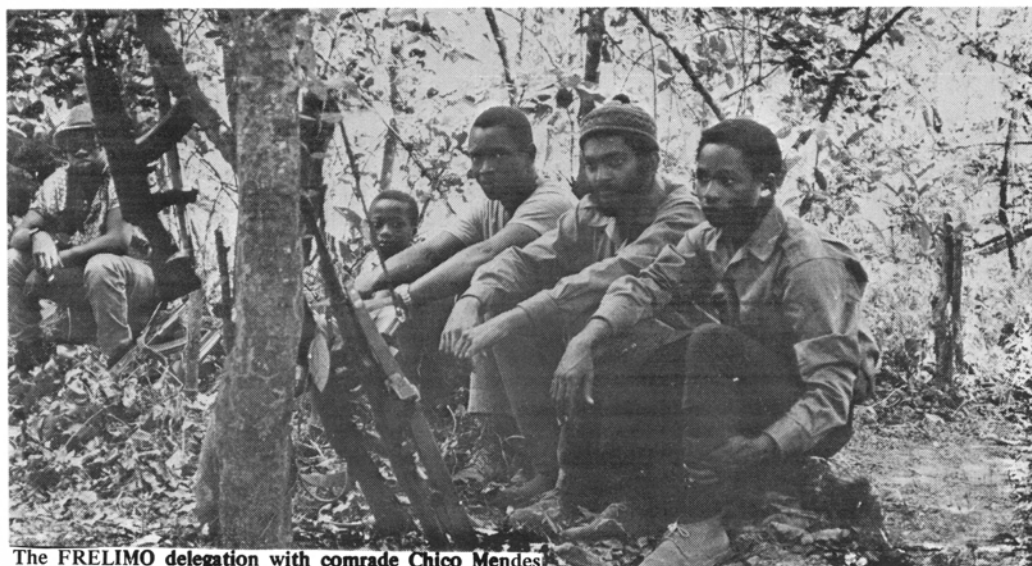
It was spontaneous and none of those speeches about the need to rally around FRELIMO and drive out the Portuguese were heard. Everybody understood why. It is the HOW that they talk about. Only by careful observation could I distinguish between the peasants and the guerrillas, otherwise everybody was «comrade».



The Tanzanian journalist at a FRELIMO base

A DIFFERENT WAR. A DIFFERENT COUNTRY.  
BUT THE ENEMY IS THE SAME. AND SO IS THE AIM.

# LIBERATION



REPORT FROM  
GUINÉ - BISSAU

A FRELIMO delegation composed of comrades Oscar Monteiro and Anselmo Anai-va recently spent three weeks in Guinea-Bissau, at the invitation of the PAIGC. The following is an account of their trip, specially written for MOZAMBIQUE REVOLUTION'.

The FRELIMO delegation with comrade Chico Mendes.

«Guinea Bissau is a flat and marshy country.» These were the words of the commentator in 'Labanta Negro', the first documentary film on the liberation war in Guinea that we had seen. And that was our overriding impression from the very first days of our stay there. With our tendency for making comparisons, we thought of the climb up to the plateau of the Makondes in our own country, the introduction to the liberated regions in Cabo Delgado.

From the very first day, we saw for ourselves the efforts being made in national reconstruction under harsh conditions of repression. Here too the repression gives rise to difficult problems in carrying out normal activities. In northern Guinea, a rice and livestock region, cattle are the main target. Veritable extermination campaigns are carried out with helicopters to wipe out this Guinean asset. To resist this, the people have to move the cattle frequently, throwing the enemy reconnaissance planes off the scent.

This, and especially the bombing raids, was the only sign of Portuguese presence in the liberated areas of Guinea Bissau which we visited. But this success in having eliminated the Portuguese presence, or of having robbed them of the initiative

on the ground, is no reason for passivity. «Now it is a question of constantly seeking ways of keeping the initiative. The enemy have learned from experience to accept the status quo, in that all attempts at reconquest made up to now have failed.» Indeed, once they have lost control of a region, the Party's work among the people—the participation of the people in public affairs, the setting up of schools, health services, people's shops—is such that every Portuguese attempt to take over again comes up against a real mass uprising of the people, who have been irreversibly won over to a life without the Portuguese. That is why the enemy have now been forced to give up certain regions definitively. But this does not render them inactive. They have launched an out-and-out propaganda offensive among the people in the towns under their control and among those who have been regrouped in strategic hamlets. «Our real problem is carrying out the work of national reconstruction so indispensable to the pursuit of the war, while at the same time consistently expanding the geographical combat area,» we were told by Chico Mendes, a member of the Council of War and, with Osvaldo Vieira, a leader of the first armed group in the northern region.

A first answer was to attack the enemy in their hide-outs with daring commando attacks, or shelling and attacking fortified posts. With us was André Gomes, Commander of the Nhacra-Morès Sector, leader of the 12-man commando unit which infiltrated the area of the Bissalanca airport and shelled the runway, causing substantial damage. The power of the PAIGC's artillery and its sophisticated equipment are beginning to sow panic in the ranks of the colonial army ensconced in the bunkers. On our return, we could see from the front page headlines of Portuguese papers the commotion caused by the rocket attack on the Farim general staff.

Carrying out national reconstruction while continuing the liquidation of the enemy forces: this is the basic task facing each of the movements in the CONCP. National reconstruction starts with maintaining production, which means protecting the people in the liberated regions in their daily work, organising people's shops to meet basic needs in manufactured goods, setting up hospitals and educating the people. What is most important is that, owing to the political line and also out of necessity, all these tasks are carried out with the participation of the organised people, and in some cases they are taken

on by them alone. In Guinea-Bissau the basic mass organisation cell is the 'tabanca committee', which consists of five elected members, it being compulsory that two of them are women. The committee concerns itself with all local matters, especially births, marriages and deaths, social and cultural affairs and supplying the armed forces.

But it seemed to us that, as in our own case, apart from the social revolution this means, the most profound transformations are in the new generation. One need only see the difference between the children in the liberated regions and those coming from areas under colonial rule. For this reason, the PAIGC gives very special attention to the youth in the schools. In the village primary schools, the General Boarding School in the north, the nursery schools and the Pilot School we were able to visit later in Conakry, in each case a new Guinea, mastering modern knowledge and shaping new social relations, was being forged. The elderly leader of a local committee who proudly showed us the photo of his son who learned to read in the Party school and was studying in a foreign country, was very conscious of this profound transformation.

This work is not without its problems, both from the point of view of cadres—teachers often being needed for the armed forces, where technical development requires increasingly skilled cadres—and because of the repression. Tambico is an oft-repeated example and the PAIGC was obliged to raise the minimum school age, because the most frequent victims of bombing raids were the youngest children. It was in these particular conditions experienced under repression that we found the most specific factor of the struggle

in Guinea; indeed, although the PAIGC controls about two-thirds of the country, the size of the territory permits the colonial army to make its repressive presence felt almost everywhere, owing to its planes and cannons. During the period we spent in the Sara area, for two weeks on end Fiat G91 jets and PV2's dropped bombs on a rather small region.

All the Portuguese planes and helicopters take off from Bissalanca airport (10 km. from Bissau). Under cover of the foliage at Nhacra, we watched the incessant coming and going of aircraft leaving for the north, south and east to drop their criminal load or to land troops. All activity has to involve careful consideration of this aspect—the proximity of enemy positions. The Sara hospital surprised us not only because of its capacity to perform big surgical operations, but also because its equipment was so very uncumbersome, making it extremely mobile.

The helicopter war inspired by the example of the Americans (before their crushing defeat in Laos) is the latest find of the Portuguese strategists, with the amiable cooperation of the manufacturers of the Alouette and the PUMA SA 330.

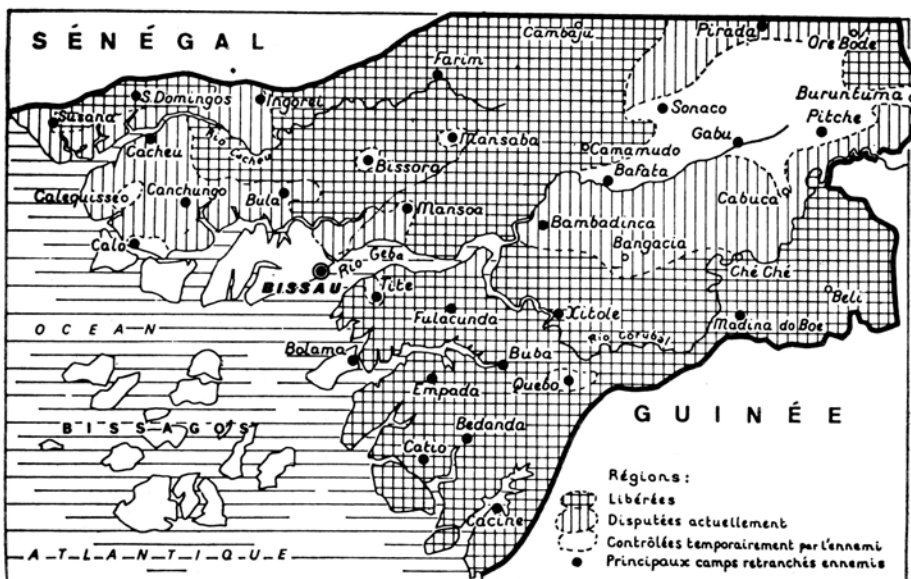
But it has not been their only find. As in our country, Portugal is attempting massive psychological warfare and subversion within the nationalist ranks. Their latter efforts having proved a miserable failure, the Portuguese administration is now devoting itself to trying to stir up tribal hatred and to win the allegiance of religious groups, especially the Muslims. During our stay, we were able to hear on the radio about General Spínola, Governor of Guinea, taking part officially in the public celebration of the Maulid

festival in the streets of Bissau. This is a measure of the efforts being made by an administration and army which have always claimed to have a 'Christianising mission'.

Although relatively small, the territory of Guinea is inhabited by innumerable ethnic groups whose social, cultural and religious traditions seemed to us to have withstood colonisation. This means that in carrying out the Party's policy, the way of life of each region has to be taken into account. This was the field in which we felt that the PAIGC had registered the greatest success. Indeed, experience has taught us that in the conditions of our countries and of our struggle, it is impossible to foresee everything and direct everything from just one decision-making centre. The part played by the cadres is fundamental. In other words, flexible coordination, which is a fundamental problem in the activity of any mass party, is essential in our countries. The PAIGC has always paid great attention to the training and political education of cadres.

The most important aspect of our visit, and the one which made the greatest impression on us, was the discussions we had with the leaders on the Northern Front, headed by Chico Mendes, and later with Luis Cabral. We reviewed developments in Portuguese tactics, various methods used in ambushes, protection against bombing raids and the best ways of ensuring the effectiveness of attacks against fortified camps. We gave special attention to the problems facing guerrillas close to urban centres. While taking into account—Guinea has no big towns and in Mozambique there is a clear distinction between the white and black towns. Comrade Anselmo Anaiva, a member of our High Command, had the opportunity to describe the Portuguese 'big offensive' against the liberated regions in Cabo Delgado in Mozambique, and the reasons for its failure.

«There are many things which unite us, comrades,» we told our comrades of Guinea-Bissau on leaving. «We have taken up arms and we are fighting against the same enemy, who is assisted by the same allies. Since our arrival we have been struck by many similarities. But what unites us even more is the aim for which we are fighting, building a new and progressive country. We have seen your army, your schools, your hospitals, your people's shops, the production brigades, the tabanca committees. We leave encouraged by your victories, proud of your successes. Confronted with the determination of our peoples in Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, Portuguese colonialism cannot continue much longer. The signs of its collapse are already clear. Let us continue our fight, united, until the total independence of our countries.»





# THE UNITED NATIONS

## MUST FACE NATO'S



## CHALLENGE

On May 19, 1971, FRELIMO met a Group of the UN Committee on Decolonisation. We explained the political and military development of our liberation struggle, denounced the support the NATO countries give to Portugal, and demanded more direct and efficient methods of action against Portuguese colonialism.



Comrade J. Chissano (left) head of the FRELIMO delegation

The fact that we have succeeded in gradually defeating Portuguese aggression and destroying in considerable part its repressive apparatus, does not exempt you—nor all mankind—from facing the brutal challenge posed to the principles and authority of the United Nations.

In spite of world-wide condemnation both in public opinion and in numerous U.N. resolutions, Portugal's allies—and in particular the United States, France, West Germany, and Great Britain—continue to make possible continuation of the colonial war by their substantial support to Lisbon.

It is obvious that Portugal, if left to its own resources, could not afford to spend around two million dollars a day on war.

According to our information, more than 610 airplanes and 141 helicopters have been given to the Portuguese military by its allies through NATO, since the date they took membership in it.

In particular, even after 1961 when the United Nations requested that its member

states no longer furnish military hardware and spare parts, the colonialist military air force got at least 57 planes from the United States, 117 helicopters and 10 airplanes from France, 218 airplanes and 10 helicopters from West Germany, and 150 airplanes from Great Britain.

This clearly means that more than two-thirds of the airplanes and almost all of the helicopters which the Portuguese Air Force now has were delivered after the United Nations asked its membership not to do it! The role played by this air force in the colonial war is indicated by the Portuguese High Command declarations that during last year's dry season its total combat mission hours flown amounted to some 12,000. And other than the combat missions, its importance lies also in the transport and food support of troops. The civil aviation participates actively in the latter, and the Portuguese High Command has signed service contracts with both DETA (Mozambique) and TAP (Portugal).

For the same period, the Portuguese navy

was given 33 ships—4 from Great Britain, 7 from the U.S.A., 8 from France, 11 from West Germany, and 3 from Spain.

Thus, one-fourth of the Portuguese navy has been put in place since the U.N. resolution on the delivery of war material to Portugal.

The navy has covered more than 12,000 hours of combat missions in Mozambique alone, according to the Portuguese, and this for the second half of 1970 alone!

Let us mention only in passing the very important role played by the Portuguese Merchant Marine. A few recent incidents should be recalled:

- the explosion on board the CUNENE, only last year, just as it was getting underway with troops bound for Mozambique;
- again last year the explosion at the Lisbon docks where the NIASA was being readied to embark war material for Mozambique;
- the recent and mysterious odyssey of the ANGOCHÉ, which carried gasoline for helicopters and other material to be

used in the offensive being launched in the north of our country.

It goes without saying that the sum total of armoured vehicles, trucks, civil engineering material, artillery, and firearms was given to the Portuguese land army by its allies. And it is obvious—when one considers the damage and wastage of these items through use—that it would be ridiculous to pretend that all this material was delivered to Lisbon before the United Nations demanded that member states stop doing it!

Today, we see that the forces which have gathered against us and which we call by their proper name of Imperialism are preparing further escalation of their aggression against us.

Already, they are training the Portuguese army, sending new military teams to 'visit' the war zones, and establishing new military agreements. And further, in the press of certain countries as well as in the publications of their Ministries of Defence, one reads about the necessity of intervention. Already, in the programmes of certain parties in power, military intervention against our liberation movements is called for blatantly.

But even all this is from the past.

For today, the NATO ministerial meeting is being prepared to take place in Lisbon.

And today Sir Alec Douglas Home is getting ready to go to Lisbon to renew British support to the colonialists, just after the South African arms deliveries.

Today, as the Portuguese Army moves rapidly towards a shameful defeat, imperialists are trying to prolong the Portuguese gasp of death by increasing the price we are paying for our liberty in suffering and in blood.

#### ACTION BY THE UNITED NATIONS

He is a bad strategist who, even after his tactics have proved worthless on the field of battle, continues to employ those same tactics.

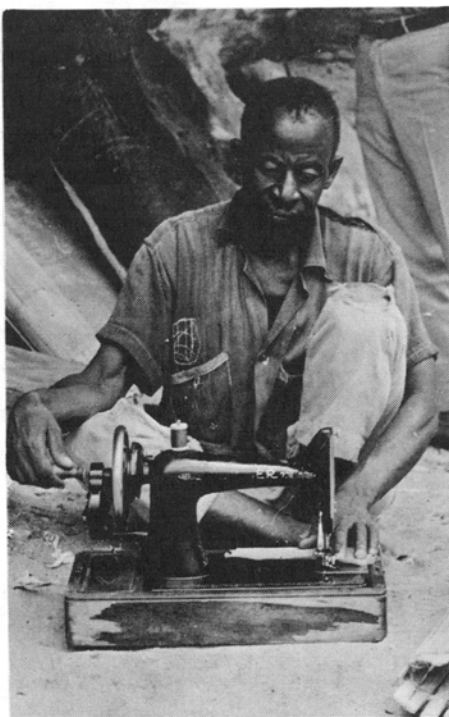
We believe that the continuation of the Portuguese colonial war, ten years after passage of the U.N.'s resolution 1514 (XV), constitutes a brutal and indecent challenge to all peoples. By its crimes, including aggression against sovereign African states, the Portuguese government has by its own action set itself against civilised humanity.

We can no longer accept that the United Nations content itself simply with making appeals to Portugal and its allies. We must take sanctions against Portugal as an aggressor state.

For she is nothing more than an aggressor who occupies de facto certain areas of our country. In almost one-third of our country, Portuguese sovereignty no longer exists. Over one-fifth of our territory new structures and new institutions function regularly, concretising the de facto sovereignty which has been conquered by our people. It is now time to recognise the new reality. That is, to consider illegal the Portuguese occupation by force of part of our country, to no longer accept Portugal as legally responsible for our country, and to refuse the juridical fiction which are 'overseas provinces'. In short, it is time to recognise from now on that the Mozambican people are themselves responsible, and this through FRELIMO.

Whether it be by the criteria of an existing territory, and a population thereon, by the creation of law and the establishment of institutions, by the exercise of power, or be it by organisation and practice of economic and social activity in the liberated zones of Cabo Delgado, Niassa, and Tete, we are in fact witnessing the operations of a new state.

We would like for you to come and see for yourselves this new reality in the liberated zones; accordingly we renew our invitation to you to do so!



#### PROJECT PLANS

We regret that our plans for economic and social development which we have submitted to you in the past have not yet been given any support by your specialised organisations.

Certainly a positive step has been taken by the ECA and even though it is yet to be ratified by the Economic and Social Commission, we have great hope for this new cooperative effort. We count on your encouragement of both the Economic and Social Commission as well as the FAO to furnish a substantial material aid to our effort in national reconstruction.

Likewise, the UNESCO decision to contribute to our education programme should be supported in particular, and especially because UNESCO consulted us before taking its position. Through collaboration with us and by taking into account our principles, methods, and needs, UNESCO will make a precious contribution indeed to our work.

We regret however that other specialised organisations—and in particular the WHO—have not yet answered our legitimate requests. Our campaigns against smallpox, eprosy, cholera and other endemic diseases are not only beneficial to our own people, but they also aid neighbouring countries to fight against the same diseases with better chance of success.

We are hereto attaching the project plans which we submitted in 1969 and 1970, in the hope that you will be able to bring about positive action on the part of those organisations concerned.

We conclude by thanking warmly the Committee of Twenty-Four for its efforts in making known the legitimacy of our struggle while isolating politically and morally the Portuguese colonialists.

We wish also to express our fraternal solidarity with the people and Government of Tanzania, with TANU and President Nyerere, who are being exposed to numerous provocations and instances of aggression on account of their support of FRELIMO and the Mozambican people's struggle.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH!

WE SHALL CONQUER!

Dar Es Salaam, 19 May 1971



*On the 16th of June, 1960, a large crowd of people in Cabo Delgado gathered at the Portuguese administrative centre at Mueda. Theirs was a peaceful demonstration, aimed at demanding recognition by the Portuguese authorities of the Mozambican people's right to Independence.*

*The Portuguese colonialists responded with bullets and grenades. In a terrible massacre, they killed more than 500 Mozambicans by throwing grenades and shooting at the assembled people. Many other patriots were arrested; these were later killed, or else languish in prison to the present day.*

*This event was a lesson to us. It taught us that we would not win our independence with speeches. Those who had retained any illusions as to the good faith of the Portuguese were finally convinced that, to be free, we would have to take up arms and win our freedom by force.*

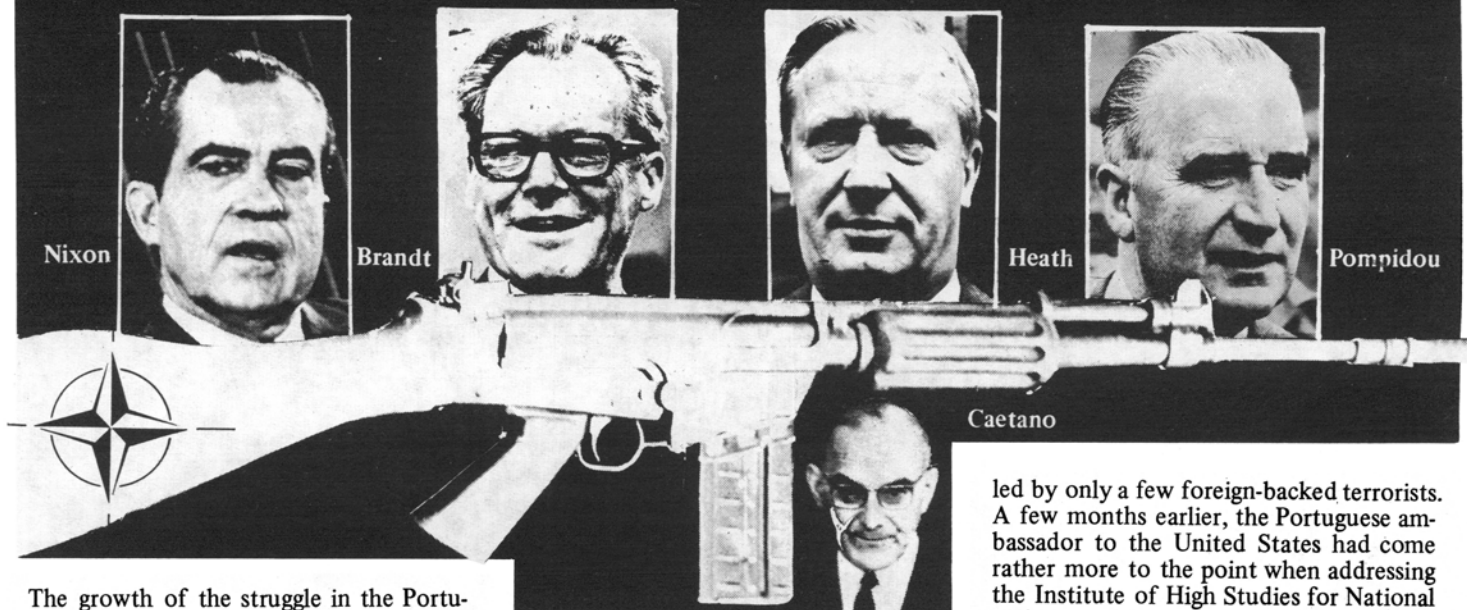
*Our people learnt that lesson well. Two years later, in 1962, FRELIMO was formed. Four years later, our armed struggle for liberation started. Today, more than one million Mozambicans are free, in the liberated regions of Mozambique.*

*Let no-one forget the 16th of June, a day on which Mozambican nationalists were massacred, a day of mourning for our people; but most important, a day which made us aware of the necessity to destroy Portuguese colonialism with revolutionary violence. The 16th of June made our people understand the necessity of the 25th of September.*





# THE FORCES OF REACTION CLOSE THEIR RANKS...



The growth of the struggle in the Portuguese colonies is not only to be judged by the advance of the military front lines, the increased offensives, and the expansion of the liberated areas. It can also be seen from the growing involvement and commitment of forces outside — both reactionary forces, who are rapidly closing their ranks, and also progressive forces who are increasing their support and solidarity in countries where only a few years ago ours was described as a 'forgotten war'.

Several events over the last few months have demonstrated that Portugal's NATO allies in particular have decided to come to the aid of Portugal's repressive colonial policies even more openly and closely than before.

In January this year Britain and the United States finally withdrew from the United Nations Committee on Colonialism after several years of obvious dissatisfaction at their inability to control its resolutions and statements. A member of the U.S. mission to the U.N. confirmed this when he stated: «We felt the Committee was not fulfilling its mandate and that it was being irresponsible by advocating violence.»

The advent of the Conservative government in Britain has of course produced the anticipated re-establishment of even closer links with Portugal than existed under its predecessor. The arms sales to South Africa are but one aspect of its policies towards the oppressive regimes in Southern Africa.

There have recently been official visits to Britain by both the Provincial Secretary for the Economy of Angola and the Portuguese Secretary for Industry — the first member of the Portuguese government to visit Britain officially since 1955. A delegation from the British National Export Council recently toured Mozambique, as did the former Conservative Minister, Mr. Duncan Sandys who stated that this government would take a much more positive attitude towards Cahora Bassa than the previous one. A month after the export mission's visit a 5 million sterling credit for Portugal was announced, to be used for 'African development'. The strongest indication of the new trends however, is the recent invitation to the British Foreign Minister to visit Portugal.

Details of closer NATO collaboration are given elsewhere. In addition, the Nixon administration has been continuing its usual hypocritical international role of proclaiming loudly its defence of human rights and then doing precisely the opposite. Nixon's 'State of the World' message to Congress 'denounced' white minority regimes but equally firmly rejected any solution that called for violence or even economic pressures, pretending that the isolation of white regimes would not serve 'ultimate justice' and that America's main contribution to Africa would be to keep it free of 'great power rivalries and conflicts'. The implications for Portugal are obvious — for, as all her friends point out, the Portuguese colonies are some of the most peaceful areas of Africa, trou-

bled by only a few foreign-backed terrorists. A few months earlier, the Portuguese ambassador to the United States had come rather more to the point when addressing the Institute of High Studies for National Defence. He stated that the USA now had a more sympathetic attitude to the Portuguese 'problems' in the African colonies, and that he expected a closer collaboration in future between Portugal and the USA, in view of Portugal's rich material resources. The more tangible evidence of these policies recently has been the sale of Boeing aircraft to TAP, and small 'civil' aircraft to South Africa, both ideal for supporting the military effort; the one through large-scale transport capabilities and the other by way of reconnaissance radio co-operation with ground police, co-ordination of army airforce activities etc.

France and West Germany, on the other hand, have never felt required to make even the slightest pretext about their objectives. Both are giving Portugal every support with her Common Market application. One of the few thorns in Franco-Portuguese relations, illegal migrant workers in France, has been solved by a series of recent agreements. During a recent visit to France by the Portuguese Foreign Minister, President Pompidou expressed France's great esteem for Portugal and said that France would resolutely continue its policy of close co-operation between both countries. West Germany's main concern, apart from the sale of arms, has always been the mineral wealth of the colonies which provides the raw materials for these. The growing importance of this was recently demonstrated by the visit to Angola of Franz Josef Strauss, Minister of Defence, accompanied by West German generals Von der Hilt and Tretners, who visited the Cassinga iron mines.

# BUT THE OPPOSITION GROWS



These young people in Sweden demonstrate the rising hostility to Portuguese colonialism.

At Easter, a meeting of 23 western European support groups for the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies was held. The support groups met to exchange ideas and information on the various campaigns, on Cahora Bassa, on their mobilisation of material aid, and also on mutual problems such as the transport of aid, the assembly of information etc. They discussed various possibilities for collaboration and agreed that an urgent priority for all groups should be a campaign against the use of chemical weapons in Angola and also against the growing military support given by many of their governments through NATO. Although most were concerned solely with the Portuguese colonies, they ranged from general Third World solidarity to organisations concerned specifically with Southern Africa and militant anti-imperialists whose first priority is the political

mobilisation and education of the people in their own countries

The conditions under which these groups work vary in each country; for example, the Dutch and Scandinavian governments themselves give us some form of support while our British, French and German supporters have to contend with completely reactionary regimes, which affects the kind of strategies and work programmes they can follow. Thus in the few countries where official or semi-official bodies are undertaking substantial programmes of material aid, the groups are able to concentrate on the more political and educational work.

But the material aid campaigns are undertaken by many groups. In Holland, the Angola Committee has established a special organisation, the Eduardo Mondlane

Foundation to raise material assistance and some medical students have formed the Angola Medical Committee to assist MPLA. In 1970 the Mondlane Foundation raised about a quarter of a million Dutch guilders, mainly through a fund-raising effort among academics and a door-to-door collection. They have also supplied seven vehicles, medical supplies, two teachers for the Mozambique Institute Secondary School and a doctor for PAIGC. The French Comité de Soutien à la lutte des Peuples des Colonies Portugaises has concentrated mainly on sending medical aid, particularly fresh blood to Guine, a large proportion of which is donated by Portuguese emigrant workers in France. Two of the four German groups, the British and the Italians, have also collected medicines and surgical equipment, including an ambulance. Although material aid is not the prime aim of the

five Swedish Africa Groups they have assisted in the printing of primary school text books for Guine and raised some funds and sent clothing. Similarly, the Finnish TRICONT group collaborated in the schools campaign that financed the Mozambique Institute publishing house, which is just starting to print our school text books. Of the groups that work through established organisations in their countries the Belgian Comité de Soutien à la lutte contre le colonialisme et l'apartheid has been active among the Belgian trade unions and the British Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guine was instrumental in obtaining a £30,000 grant for the Mozambique Institute from a British trust. As one of its future work priorities, the Norwegian Council for Southern Africa is to campaign for full aid to the liberated areas.

Education and publicity are a prime pre-occupation of most of the organisations by means of articles and books, pamphlets, leaflets, posters, lectures, plays, study groups etc., disseminating information wherever and when ever they can. In addition to the well-known pamphlet, 'Portugal and NATO', and its own 'Angola Bulletin', the Angola Committee has started to produce a fortnightly 'Facts and Reports', consisting of clippings from a wide range of newspapers and magazines. Other regular bulletins include 'Guerrilheiro' from Britain, 'Bulletin d'Information' from France, 'Afrique Australe' from France, and 'Sodra Afrika Bulletin' from Sweden. In addition, the Dutch and the Swiss have both published pamphlets on Cahora Bassa, the Berlin Projectgruppe Afrika (formerly INFI) has published a book entitled 'The Revolutionary War of Liberation in Angola, Guine-Bissau and Mozambique' and a book of photographs of MPLA has been published by ARMAL in Italy. Other means of disseminating information have been through the establishment of information centres and the distribution of films. Aktion Dritte Welt are trying to establish an information centre on Southern Africa in Bonn and the Danish Action Committee for Angola Mozambique and Guine, in conjunction with the Danish Vietnam Committee, have established a publishing house, film distribution centre, and international information centre which handles all materials and articles relevant to the anti-imperialist struggle. Many of the groups have sent their own members to the liberated areas to obtain information at first hand: the Dutch and British in Mozambique, the Swedes and French in Guine, and the Finns and Italians in Angola. The British Committee, in conjunction with the Anti-Apartheid Organisation and a group of teachers are taking

a new approach to the 'Information centre' by producing an 'educational kit' comprising fact sheets, slides, maps, statistics, pictures, tapes, etc. for teachers of secondary school pupils.

Another important responsibility in the field of education, according to many of the groups, is their own political education appraisal of their activities, and study of the situation in the Portuguese colonies. This has been the subject of particular debate among the Swedish Africa groups who stress that 'support work' is just one part of their work as anti-imperialist groups. Similar work is being done by the people in Berlin, who have held teach-ins on West German imperialism and written articles on Cahora Bassa for workers' newspapers in the AEG and Siemens factories. As a result of their experiences they state that only the political mobilisation of the workers in industrialised countries will force international capital and support out of the Portuguese colonies and thus give really effective support to the people there. They therefore intend to form a broad-based solidarity committee for the support of the liberation movements in Africa, in close collaboration with the 'Committee for the Struggle Against Imperialism' recently formed to West Berlin to organise anti-imperialist activity among the intellectuals and students in the city. Its overall guide lines will be that of anti-imperialist activity as part of the revolutionary strategy of the working class.

### NATO

A campaign against NATO is planned for Norway and Holland, the specific target at the moment is the supply of Fokker planes to Portugal. Although civil aircraft they are known to be used for military purposes. Another activity at the moment is that of helping Portuguese deserters, who now arrive in Holland at the rate of about 20 per month (this is expected to increase during the summer). In the Spring of 1970 an assistance bureau for Portuguese deserters was established by various church and refugee organisations. The Swedish groups have also been helping the six deserters there.

But of course the biggest campaign on which most of the organisations have been concerned has been that against Cahora Bassa. The main events are summarised below.

**West Germany.** Most of the members of the Heidelberg Komitee Sudliches Afrika formerly belonged to the radical student organisation SDS, whose campaign against German participation led to a large demon-

stration in Heidelberg culminating in the banning of SDS there. Recent activities have included teach-ins at the university and open discussions with representatives of the firms involved, and of the German Ministry of Economic Co-operation.

In Berlin, solidarity demonstration against the banning of the Heidelberg SDS took up the issue of West Germany's involvements in Cahora Bassa and in November held a teach-in on Cahora Bassa, West German imperialism and the liberation war in Mozambique. The second edition of their book contains a new preface on developments since 1969, dealing particularly with this subject.

The Frankfurt Cahora Bassa Group was formed specifically to agitate within the firms participating. However, their activities have now spread to wider issues of German support through other private investment and NATO, and they are currently investigating whether the chemical weapons used by Portugal originate from West Germany.

**Switzerland.** After stimulating action in Parliament by an MP, the Berne group distributed a lengthy paper on Cahora Bassa in parliament, to the government administration, churches and press. They had a large public meeting attended by about 1,000 people in Baden, headquarters of the Swiss Brown Boveri Co., in which they had a direct confrontation with the directors of the company.





**Britain.** In Britain the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guine joined forces with the Anti-Apartheid movement and other progressive organisations to form the Dambusters Mobilising Committee, which has been carrying out a systematic campaign against British participation. There has been widespread support for the campaign to withdraw accounts from Barclays Bank; particularly among students and various organisations. Most recently the campaigners have been attending shareholders' meetings of the companies involved such as Barclays and ICI.

**Canada.** At the beginning of April, 75 people attended the Annual General Meeting of ALCAN, a company providing 12,000 tons of aluminium rod for Cahora Bassa. As with previous cases in Britain the Chairman had been forced to prepare a statement in which he defended the company's actions. As the only grounds on which he thought he might be forced to withdraw were those of sanctions busting he stressed that after intensive investigations in Portugal and South Africa, he was satisfied that neither the cable nor transmission lines would have connections in Rhodesia! He also made the usual remarks about trade and industry bringing about improved standards of living and contributing to the social and political progress of the African people.

**United States.** It was learned in March that the General Electric Company is pressing the Export-Import Bank (an autonomous agency of the American government) to provide \$55 million financing for a transformer system that they want to supply to Cahora Bassa. The American Committee on Africa has prepared a detailed fact sheet on the project and the company's involvement and has started a campaign to put pressure on the Export-Import Bank not to finance the transaction.

A similar operation to that against Cahora Bassa is being waged in America against the Gulf Oil Corporation, which has gained a strong foothold in Angola. Several groups are involved but in particular the Committee of Returned Volunteers has produced a couple of excellent publications on Gulf's activities and the Task Force on Southern Africa of the United Presbyterian Church organised a confrontation at the Annual General Meeting. In a detailed statement Task Force say that Gulf's operations directly contribute to the suppression of the Angolan people in several ways. Firstly, Gulf payments to the Portuguese government (\$11 million in 1969) represent a significant percentage of the Angolan military budget.

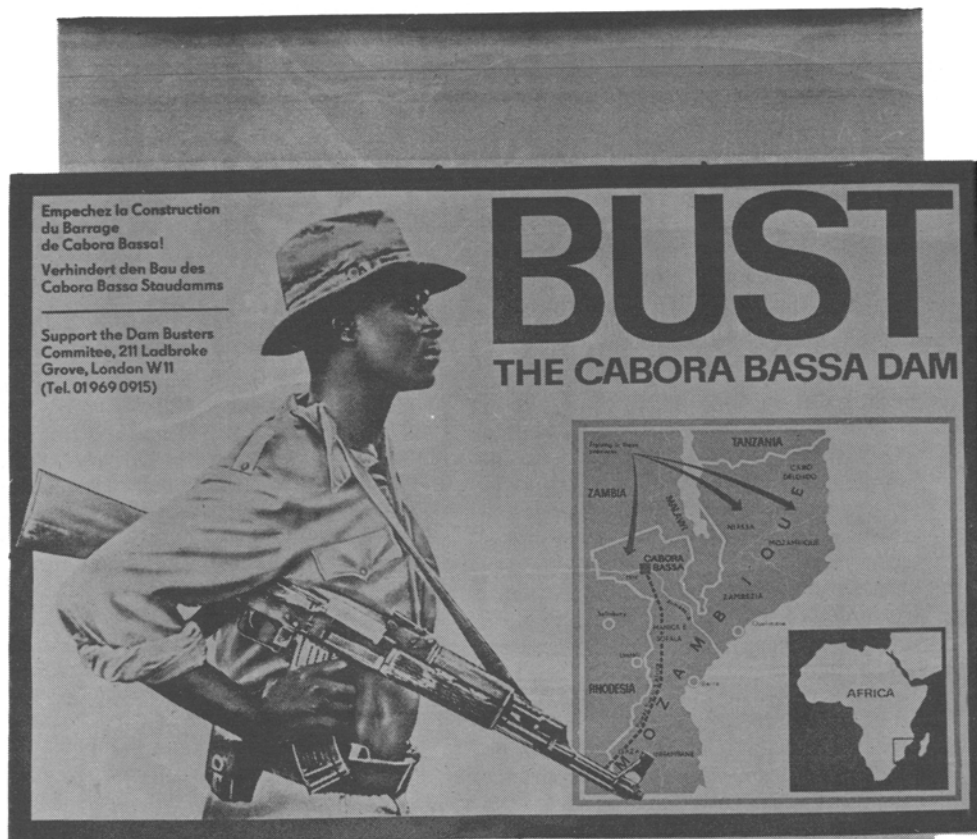
Secondly, Gulf oil discoveries constitute an incentive for continued Portuguese occupation. Thirdly, Gulf oil is an indispensable strategic material to the Portuguese army.

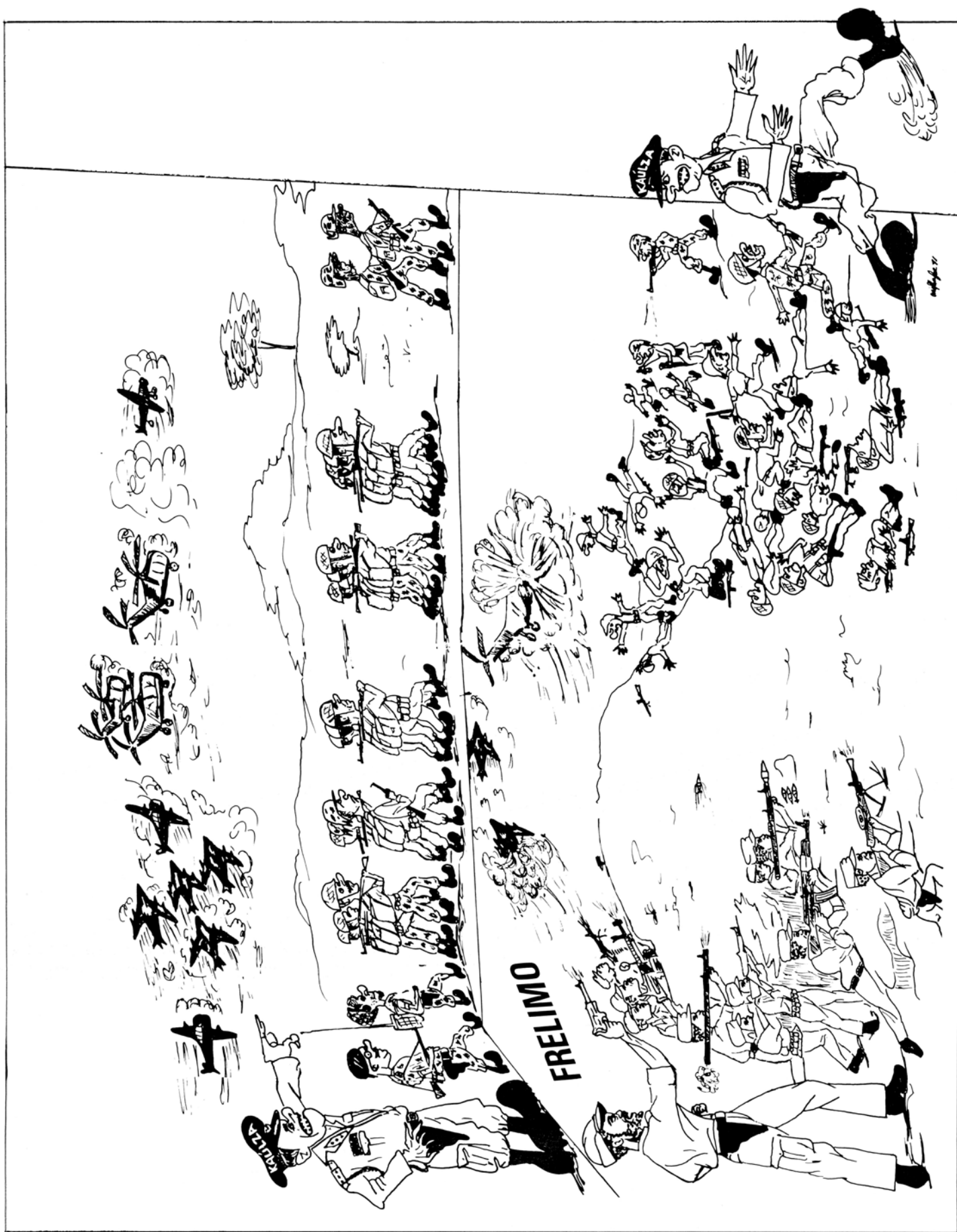
The Committee for a Free Mozambique in New York has launched a campaign to buy transistor radios for use in the liberated areas of Mozambique. Black workers have also been making an active contribution to the struggle. The actions of black workers of the American Polaroid received wide publicity when they forced the company to cease selling film to the South African government. Polaroid received yet another blow recently when half its gift of \$20,000 to the United Black Appeal Group of Boston was immediately handed over to the OAU Liberation Committee.

Seen in isolation, all these activities would not appear to have much effect on our liberation struggle. Questioning directors and officials at meetings is unlikely to force them to withdraw from profitable contracts. Capitalism does not exist to be moved by moral arguments. But this

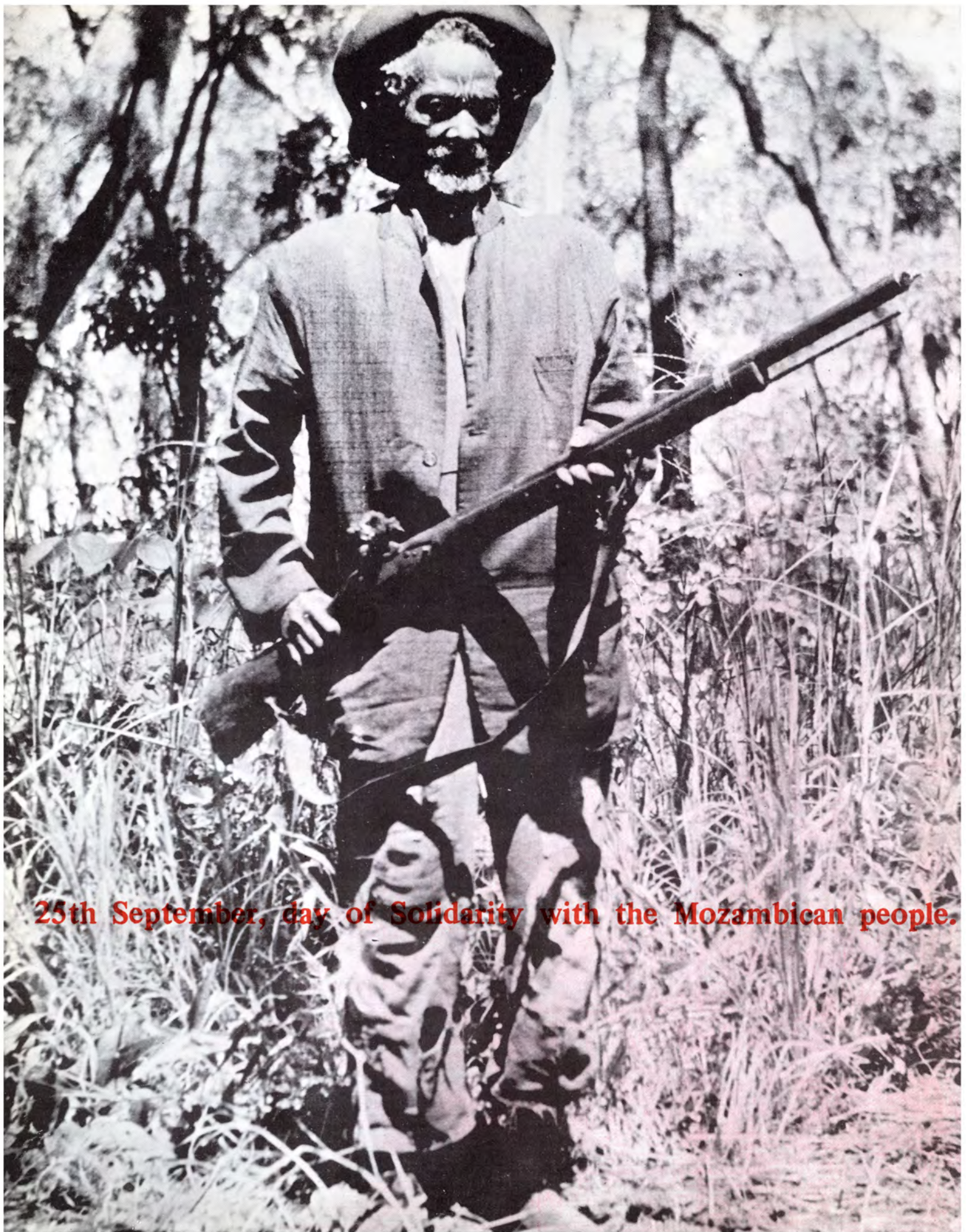
work done by the solidarity groups is extremely important. Before they can hope to mobilise support for our struggle, they first have to inform people that it even exists. Eighteen months ago most people in Europe and North America probably did not even know that Portugal had colonies in Africa, let alone what they were doing there. Now, as the result of hard and persistent work by the increasing number of support and solidarity groups our fight is gradually becoming known in such a way that is already causing concern to the Portuguese government, as recent speeches and statements have indicated.

We have no illusions, and neither certainly have most of these organisations, that their activities will drastically alter the course of the war. Our freedom will only come through our own military and political efforts, and possibly that of the oppressed Portuguese people themselves. However, in raising the consciousness of their peoples and providing us with as much moral and material support as they can, they can help to make our task easier.









25th September, day of Solidarity with the Mozambican people.